Maximus the Confessor and his Companions

Documents from Exile

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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AND

BRONWEN NEIL



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P.A.; B.N.

21 January 2001
Feast of St Maximus The Confessor
Brisbane

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1882–)
ACO	Schwartz, E. (ed.), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Strasbourg: W. de Gruyter, 1914; Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1924–).
ACO ser. 2, 1	Riedinger, R. (ed.), *ACO* series 2, vol. 1: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum: Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1984).
ACO ser. 2, 2	Riedinger, R. (ed.), *ACO* series 2, vol. 2: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum: Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, 2 parts (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1990/2).
Alexakis	Alexakis, A., *Codex Parisinus 1115 and Its Archetype*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 34 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996).
Allen–Neil	Allen, P., and Neil, B. (eds.), *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia*, *CCSG* 39 (Turnhout and Leuven: Brepols, 1999).
Annales Bertiniani	Waitz, G. (ed.), *Annales Bertiniani*, *MGH* 7. 6, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover: Hahnsche, 1883).
Arnaldi, *Dizionario*	Arnaldi, G., 'Anastasio Bibliotecario', *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* 3 (1961), 25–37.
Berthold	Berthold, G. (trans.), *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings*, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (London: SPCK; New York: Paulist Press, 1985).

BHG Halkin, F., *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd edn. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957) (= *Subsidia hagiographica* 8a); Halkin, F., *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984) (= *Subsidia hagiographica* 65).

BHL Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901) (= *Subsidia hagiographica* 6); Fros, H., *Novum Supplementum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986) (= *Subsidia hagiographica* 70).

Bracke, *Vita* Bracke, R., *Ad Sancti Maximi Vitam. Studie van de biografische documenten en de levensbeschrijvingen betreffende Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662)*, Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven (Leuven: KUL, 1980).

Brandes Brandes, W. '"Juristische" Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Papst Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes', *Fontes Minores* 10, ed. L. Burgmann, *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtgeschichte*, ed. D. Simon, Band 22 (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 1998), 141–212.

Brilliantov Brilliantov, A., 'O městě končiny i pogrebenija sv. Maksima Ispovědnika', *Hristianskij Vostok* 6 (1917), 1–62.

Brock, 'Syriac Life' Brock, S. (ed.), 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *AB* 91 (1973), 299–346; repr. in id., *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity, Collected Studies Series* 199 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), ch. 12.

CCSG *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977–).

CPG Geerard, M., *Clauis Patrum Graecorum*, vols. 1–5, *Corpus Christianorum* (Turnhout:

	Brepols, 1974–87); Geerard, M. and Noret, J., *Clauis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum, Corpus Christianorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).
CPL	Dekkers, E., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 3rd edn. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1920–53).
Davis, *LP*	Davis, R. (trans.), *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995).
Devreesse, 'La Vie'	Devreesse, R. 'La Vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions', *AB* 46 (1928), 5–49.
—— 'Hypomnesticon'	Devreesse, R. 'Le texte grec de l'Hypomnesticon de Théodore Spoudée', *AB* 53 (1935), 49–80.
—— 'La lettre'	Devreesse, R., 'La lettre d'Anastase l'apocrisiaire sur la mort de S. Maxime le Confesseur et de ses compagnons d'exil', *AB* 73 (1955), 5–16.
Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*	Diekamp, F. (ed.), *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi* (Münster in W., 1907); 2nd edn., B. Phanourgakis and E. Chrysos (eds.) (Münster in W.: Aschendorff, 1981).
Duchesne, *LP*	Duchesne, L. (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1884/92).
EEC	Di Berardino, A. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 2 vols., Eng. trans. (Cambridge: J. Clarke, 1992).
Garrigues, 'Maxime'	Garrigues, J. M., 'Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Revue Thomiste* 76 (1976), 410–52.
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1995–).
Grillmeier 2/1	Grillmeier, A., SJ, *Christ in Christian*

	Tradition, vol. 2: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 1: *Reception and Contradiction. The Development of the Discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian*, trans. P. Allen and J. Cawte (London and Oxford: Mowbray, 1987); original title: *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Band 2/1 (Freiburg, Basle, and Vienna: Herder, 1985).
Grillmeier 2/2	Grillmeier, A., SJ and Hainthaler, T., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part 2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. J. Cawte and P. Allen (London and Louisville: Mowbray, 1995); original title: *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Band 2/2 (Freiburg, Basle, and Vienna: Herder, 1989).
Grumel, *Regestes*	Grumel, V. (ed.), *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, *Les Actes des patriarches*, Fasc. 1: *Les Regestes de 381 à 715*, 2nd edn. (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1972).
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica*
Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* 3/1	Hefele, K.-J., and Leclercq, H., *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 3, part 1 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909).
Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*	Heinzer, F., and Schönborn, C. (eds.), *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2–5 septembre 1980*, *Paradosis* 27 (Fribourg-en-Suisse: Editions Universitaires, 1982).
Jaffé, *Regesta*	Jaffé, P., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. edn. (Leipzig, 1885/8; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956).

Kekelidze	Kekelidze, K., *Svěděnija gruzinskih istočnikov o prepod. Maksimě Ispovědnikě, Trudy Kievskoj duhovnoj Akademii* (Kiev, 1912), 1–41, 451–86.
Lampe	Lampe, G. H. W., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
Larchet	Larchet, J.-C., *Maxime le Confesseur: médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident, Cogitatio Fidei* 208 (Paris: CERF, 1998).
Louth, *Maximus*	Louth, A., *Maximus the Confessor, The Early Church Fathers* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
Mansi	Mansi, I. D., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vols. 1–16 (Florence, 1759–71; Paris: Welter, 1901–27, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlags-anstalt, 1960–1).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MGH 7	*Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae sive Praefationes*, ed. E. Perels and G. Laehr, *MGH Epistolarum* vol. 7. *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* V (Berlin, 1912–28, repr. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1978), 395–442.
Murphy–Sherwood	Murphy, F.-X., and Sherwood, P., *Konstantinopel II und III, Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien* 3 (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1990), trans. by N. Monzel and E. Labonté; original title: *Constantinople II et III, Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques* 3, ed. G. Dumeige (Paris: Éditions de l'Orante, 1974).
Neil, '*Lives*'	Neil, B., 'The *Lives* of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor: Some Reconsiderations of Dating and Provenance', *Byzantion* 68 (1998), 91–109.
Nelson	Nelson, J. L. (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin, Ninth Century Histories* 1, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

ODB	Kazhdan, A. *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
PG	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66).
PL	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
PLRE	Jones, A. H. M. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 1. A.D. 260–395 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Jones, A. H. M. and Martindale, J. R. (eds.), *PLRE* 2. A.D. 395–527 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Martindale, J. R. (ed.), *PLRE* 3A/B. A.D. 527–641 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
PMBZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Erste Abteilung (641–867). Prolegomena*, nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns, ed. R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow *et al.* (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1998).
PTS	Alland, K. and Schneemelcher, W. (eds.), *Patristische Texte und Studien* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1964–).
Qaukhchishvili, *Georgica* 3	Qaukhchishvili, S., *Georgica: Scriptorum Byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia* 3 (Tbilisi: Gamomcemloba, 1936).
—— *Georgica* 4	Qaukhchishvili, S., *Georgica: Scriptorum Byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia* 4 (Tbilisi: Gamomcemloba, 1941).
SChr	*Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: CERF, 1941–).
Sirmond, *Collectanea*	I. Sirmondus, *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Sedis Apostolicae Collectanea* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1620).
Sherwood, *Date-List*	Sherwood, P., *An Annotated Date-List of the*

	Works of Maximus the Confessor, Studia Anselmiana 30 (Rome: Herder, 1952).
Tanner	Tanner, N. P. (trans.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward; Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990).
Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*	van Dieten, J. L., *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715), Enzyklopädie der Byzantinistik*, Bd. 24, *Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Teil 4 (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1972).
Winkelmann	Winkelmann, F., 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites', *Klio* 69 (1987), 2, 515–59; repr. in id., *Studien zu Konstantin dem Großen und zur byzantinischen Kirchengeschichte* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, 1993), no. 7.

SIGLA

A	*Vaticanus graecus 1912*, 10th c.
B	*Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus 127*, 17th c.
C	*Parisinus Coislinianus 267*, 12th c.
D	*Vaticanus graecus 1426*, a. 1534
F	*Vaticanus graecus 1671*, 10th c.
G	*Genevensis graecus 33*, 16th c.
M	*Venetus Marcianus graecus 137*, 10th c.
N	*Matritensis Bibl. Nac. 4592* (olim O-2), a. 1547
O	*Monacensis graecus 10*, 16th c.
P	*Petropolitanus Bibl. Publ. gr. 380* (161), 11th c.
Q	*Parisinus suppl. graecum 199*, 16th c.
R	*Venetus Marcianus graecus 135*, 13th c.
S	*Scorialensis graecus 273 (Υ-III-3)*, 12th c.
V	*Vaticanus graecus 1646*, a. 1118
W	*Vaticanus graecus 2064*, 12th c.
X	*Athonensis Vatopedinus 475*, 13th c.
p	*Parisinus latinus 5095*, 9th c.

INTRODUCTION

The Byzantine empire in the seventh century was overtaken by successive waves of radical change, in respect of its internal structures, both imperial and social, and its religious groupings as defined by the Council of Chalcedon (451). In the midst of agitated Christological controversies, Arab and Persian attacks rocked the empire's physical foundations and exploited existing weaknesses based on divisions between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian communities.[1] Several centuries of controversy over what it meant to say that Christ was 'God made man' culminated in two disputes, over the number of activities in Christ and the number of wills. The doctrines of *monenergism* (one 'energy' or activity in Christ) and *monothelitism* (one will which subsumed both human and divine aspects) were instigated by theologians close to the court, particularly the patriarch of Constantinople, as a way of shoring up ecclesiastical unity in a time of political turmoil. With Avar–Slav enemies to the north and Persians and Arabs to the east, the last thing Emperor Heraclius needed was a recalcitrant monk stirring up dissent in Africa and Italy. This was Maximus the Confessor, whose theological obstinacy had a quite unprecedented impact on Heraclius' precarious hold on imperial rule in the declining capital of Constantinople. Even the patriarch Pyrrhus was at one stage persuaded by Maximus' powers of rhetoric to defect to the dyothelite (two-will) camp, albeit temporarily. The monastic resistance led by Maximus gained the support of popes John IV, Theodore, and Martin I, and found many other followers in the West. The strength of western opposition to the imperial doctrine can be judged by the convocation of 150 bishops at the Lateran Synod in Rome in 649. Their opposition eventually led to Martin, Maximus, and his disciple Anastasius being brought

[1] In general, we have preferred to use throughout this introduction the term 'non-Chalcedonian' for the churches which have traditionally been labelled by their opponents as 'monophysite', given the religious prejudice the latter term connotes.

to trial on trumped-up charges in Constantinople, where they were condemned to torture and eventual death in exile, under appalling physical conditions.

The seven documents translated in this volume constitute a unique contemporary witness to Maximus' and Martin's stalwart opposition to imperial edicts enforcing adherence to monenergism and monothelitism. They cover events from the time of Maximus' arrival in Constantinople for his first trial in 655; the futile attempts to persuade him to accept the imperial compromise; to his final trial in the capital in 662, and his death in Lazica, on the coast of the Black Sea. They provide a rare insight into the difficult period of transition from the decentralized provincial system of government that characterized Late Antiquity, to a more hierarchical structure centred on the power of the emperor in Constantinople. They also shed light on some lesser-known but significant participants in the monothelite controversy, several of whom followed their master into exile in Lazica: Maximus' two disciples Anastasius the monk and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, and their friends Theodore Spoudaeus, Theodosius of Gangra, and the brothers Theodore and Euprepius.

These documents were translated into Latin in the late ninth century by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, papal librarian and diplomat of the Frankish Emperor Louis II. Anastasius' interest in the monothelite dispute was political rather than theological, and his choice of works for translation reflects his collaboration with Pope Nicholas I to promote papal primacy, both in relation to the Franks and the emperor of the East. Anastasius' translation is particularly important because it pre-dates any of the existing Greek manuscripts, thus providing the earliest and most complete witness to the tradition. For one of the seven texts presented here, the Latin version is our sole witness, and for another it supplies a lacuna in the single Greek witness.

I. THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY AND ITS CHRISTOLOGY

In this brief introduction we seek to place the documents in their historical context by giving an account of the origins, both internal and external, of the monenergist and monothelite doctrines, and

the role that these played in the imperial struggle for religious authority and ecclesiastical unity in the seventh century. The theological implications of the heterodox teaching will be examined, together with the scriptural and patristic sources cited by those who resisted it. Although dyothelite orthodoxy was ultimately vindicated by the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680/1, where both the human will and the divine will of Christ were affirmed, this decision came several decades too late to save the lives of several martyrs for the cause.

The late 620s saw a renewed attempt by the imperial church to establish religious unity in the Byzantine empire, and to heal the schism between those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon (451) and those who felt it had betrayed Cyril of Alexandria. The monenergist compromise was the shrewd design of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, under the auspices of Emperor Heraclius; it was crystallized in the Alexandrian *Pact of Union* welcomed by Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria and imperial flunky, in 633. By this agreement, Cyrus claimed to have effected union of the non-Chalcedonian party with the imperial 'orthodoxy', that is, supporters of monenergism in Egypt. Sergius and Heraclius hoped that the rest of the empire would follow suit, and certainly there was a deafening silence on the theological front until Sophronius spoke out against it in 633. The doctrinal edifice of monenergism was built upon three pillars: first, the recognition of the Cyrilline doctrine of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'; second, an acceptance of the theopaschite formula, that is, the statement that 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh'; and finally, the ps.-Dionysian affirmation of 'a new (or 'single') theandric activity' in Christ after the union.[2] Both the statements of Cyril and ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite seemed, on a superficial reading, to endorse the existence of a single activity in Christ.

II. CONCILIAR BACKGROUND TO MONENERGISM

The doctrine of monenergism was the perhaps inevitable outcome of centuries of conflict between the churches over the orthodox definition of the nature or natures of Christ, which had prompted

[2] κοινὴ/καινὴ θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια: on the textual variation of this phrase see n. 33 below. See also Louth, *Maximus*, 11–13 for further explication of these three doctrines.

the convocation of three Ecumenical Councils.[3] Emperor Justin I (518–27) gave imperial support to Chalcedon, bringing the Acacian schism—caused by the non-Chalcedonian leanings of a previous patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius (472–89)—to an end in 518.[4] Under his successor, Justinian, there was an attempt, known as Neo-Chalcedonianism or Cyrilline Chalcedonianism, to show that the findings of Chalcedon were consonant with the teaching of Cyril. In particular they sought to endorse the Cyrilline doctrine of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'.

Emperor Justinian initiated discussions in Constantinople in 532 to test a new strain of Cyrilline Chalcedonianism, based on the theopaschite formula promulgated by a group of Scythian monks in Rome during Justin I's rule, that is, the affirmation that 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh'.[5] Theopaschism had become associated with the non-Chalcedonians after Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch (d. 488), added the phrase 'who was crucified for us' to the *Trisagion* in the liturgy, as a reminder that it was God the Word who suffered in the flesh, and not just the human Christ. This addition was at first resisted in Constantinople where the *Trisagion* was thought to address the Trinity rather than Christ, as in the Antiochene usage.[6] By accepting the monks' formula, the emperor hoped to show that the Chalcedonian church embraced theopaschitism, thus removing one of the obstacles to unity with the church of Antioch.

[3] i.e. the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431), the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), and the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553), as well as the 'Robber Synod' at Ephesus (449).

[4] Acacius composed the *Henoticon* under Emperor Zeno's authority in 482. This was a compromise statement endorsing monophysitism and was designed to achieve unity in the eastern provinces. Acacius re-established the non-Chalcedonian Peter Mongus ('the hoarse'), whom he had previously deposed, as patriarch of Alexandria, thus prompting the bishop of Rome, Felix III, to convene a synod in Rome condemning the *Henoticon* and anathematising Acacius and Peter Mongus. This led to schism, which lasted until Justin's acceptance of Chalcedonianism in 518.

[5] On these 'conversations' see S. Brock, 'The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981), 87–121; repr. in S. Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity. History, Literature and Theology, Collected Studies Series* 357 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1992), 87–121, ch. 13; see also the detailed discussion in Grillmeier 2/2. 232–48. On the Scythian monks and their activities see Grillmeier 2/2. 317–27. K.-H. Uthemann provides a bibliography of recent literature on Neo-Chalcedonianism in his article 'Der Neuchalkedonismus als Vorbereitung des Monotheletismus. Ein Beitrag zum eigentlichen Anliegen des Neuchalkedonismus', *Studia Patristica* 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 373–413; here, 413.

[6] The *Trisagion* or 'Thrice-Holy' is the chant: 'Holy God, holy Mighty, holy Immortal, have mercy upon us.'

Justinian continued persecution of the Nestorian church in 542 with the renewed condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, which were composed of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the works against Cyril by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa. The emperor had been persuaded by the Origenist Theodore Askidas that this was the only way to end the separation of the non-Chalcedonians. The development of a rival Jacobite clergy in Syria and Asia Minor under the charismatic leadership of Jacob Baradaeus from the time of his consecration as bishop of Edessa in 543 defeated Justinian's efforts towards reconciliation, and he turned instead to persecution of the non-Chalcedonian churches of Syria, Egypt, and Armenia. When this achieved no significant progress towards ecclesiastical unity, he convoked the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 in an effort to achieve universal condemnation of the three Syrian fathers, and acceptance of the theopaschite formula, and to clarify that the intention of Chalcedon was to embrace the teaching that the divine Logos was the hypostasis of the incarnate Christ. Thus the Cyrilline position was declared acceptable as long as it was interpreted in accordance with the Holy Fathers' teaching.[7] Followers of Severus—the Jacobites in Syria, and the Theodosians in Egypt—were unimpressed by the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, and chose not to re-enter into communion with Constantinople. Likewise, the Syriac church in Persia remained staunchly Nestorian, holding a council in 554 to reaffirm their commitment to the teaching of two natures in the Incarnate Word. The bishop of Rome, Vigilius (537–55), whose patrons were Belisarius, defender of the city against the Goths, and the empress Theodora, initially took the imperial position on the question of natures. However, in 540 he was forced to make a statement confessing a strictly two-nature doctrine to the emperor which was more representative of the faith of the western churches.[8] Under his leadership, the Roman and African Catholic churches also initially opposed Justinian's condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, published between 543 and 546. The Fifth Ecumenical Council was convened in 553 to

[7] See Anathema VIII, Eighth Session of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, Greek text in *ACO* 4. 1. 215–20, and trans. in Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 3/1. 118–20 and Murphy–Sherwood, 341. For the course and significance of the Fifth Ecumenical Council see Grillmeier 2/2. 438–62.

[8] See Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 279–82 for a brief account of the *Three Chapters* controversy (544–54).

condemn the *Three Chapters* and yet uphold the Definition of the Faith of Chalcedon. The hapless Vigilius, taken by force to Constantinople in November 545, was imprisoned and subjected to such ill-treatment that he finally capitulated, and gave his subscription to the canons of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in December 553.[9] He died in Sicily on his way back to Rome in 555, thus avoiding what would certainly have been a cold welcome home. The bishops of Dalmatia, Milan, and Aquileia, and certain African bishops, refused to give their signatures to the proceedings of the council, however. The bishops of Grado, Aquileia, and of Milan refused to enter into communion with Vigilius' successor Pelagius, who had been a staunch 'defender of the *Three Chapters*' until he was persuaded to change his mind by Justinian.[10] The western church's antagonism to imperial interference in ecclesiastical affairs was greatly increased by these events.

External Causes of Unrest within the Empire

Thus when Heraclius took the imperial throne in 610, after ousting the usurper Phocas, he inherited a deeply fragmented empire, in both religious and political terms. The 'everlasting' peace treaty with the Persians of 591 had been broken in 602 by Chosroes II, intent on avenging the death of Maurice at the hands of the usurper Phocas. Avar–Slav invasions of the European provinces had been continual throughout Phocas' reign (602–10). The Persian king Chosroes refused to sign a peace treaty with Heraclius, and the advance of Persian forces in the East from 613 to 619 led to the loss of Caesarea, Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem (614), and the subsequent removal of the True Cross from the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre by the Persians, followed by the loss of Egypt in 619. Thessalonica was held under siege from 617 to 619, and the Avar threat to the Balkans could only be contained by the purchase of peace in 620. Heraclius thus turned his attention to the reorganization of the Byzantine military forces, and led his own forces into battle in Asia Minor in 622, defeating the Persians in Armenia in 622/3. Heraclius remained in the East

[9] Murphy–Sherwood, 134f.

[10] Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicon* (a. 558), *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 11, *Chronica Minora* ii, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), 205 = *PL* 68. 961A. Pelagius had previously been a determined opponent of Justinian's condemnation of the Nestorians: see Murphy–Sherwood, 125f.

for the next five years, and won a decisive victory near Nineveh in 627. Chosroes, utterly defeated, was killed in a coup, and Byzantium reclaimed all the territory it had lost since 613. Meanwhile in Constantinople, the combined Avar–Slav forces had arrived within the region of the capital in 625–6, while the Persian army waited in Chalcedon for a chance to cross the Bosporus and take the Royal City. Patriarch Sergius played a large part in the defence, mobilizing the people in a procession of icons through the city. The Avar–Slav forces were defeated, and the Slav fleet destroyed. The Persians, left with no means to cross the Bosporus, eventually withdrew in late 626. Heraclius returned to Constantinople, having recovered the relic of the True Cross from the Persian capital, Ctesiphon (628).[11] Sergius, as defender of the city in the emperor's absence, shared his triumph, thus strengthening the alliance between church and state which was to manifest itself clearly throughout the monenergist and monothelite controversies.

The need for unity among the churches continued to be a pressing concern under the subsequent Arab threat. Just as the monenergist formula was being accepted at Alexandria in 633, Muslim forces began to invade Byzantine territories, after the death of their spiritual leader Muhammad in 632. Damascus fell to the Muslim forces in 635; Jerusalem was surrendered by the patriarch Sophronius in 638; the Muslims advanced into the Persian empire in the 640s, and in 642 took Alexandria, which was only briefly recovered by the Byzantine empire in 645. Thus three of the five patriarchates passed out of the emperor's jurisdiction, leaving only his own capital and the unruly see of St Peter. The exarch of Carthage, Gregory, staged an unsuccessful rebellion in 645, and Olympius, exarch of Ravenna, followed suit in 649. Maximus and Martin respectively were accused of involvement in these uprisings.

Three decades of wars had led to huge numbers of displaced people within the bounds of empire. Many Greeks fled from

[11] According to Theophanes (trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), AM 6119. 457), Heraclius returned to the capital in 626/7, but this date is uncertain (ibid. 458 n. 3). Nikephoros claims that Heraclius' triumphal return took place after the True Cross was restored to Jerusalem on Thursday 21 March 630: see B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase de Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), 293–309; cf. V. Grumel, 'La réposition de la Vraie Croix à Jérusalem par Heraclius: la jour et l'année', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), 139–49.

the eastern provinces to the western territories of the empire, especially Carthage, Sicily, South Italy, and Rome.[12] Many of these refugees were monks, who founded new monasteries in the West, both non-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian. Maximus the Confessor was among this number, and used this forced sojourn abroad (ξενιτεία) to his advantage in his campaign against imperial heresy. It seemed clear to Maximus, as to others, that the Byzantine military defeats were a direct consequence of the emperor's diversion from orthodoxy. In defiance, he turned to the only remaining patriarch for support: the bishop of Rome.

Genesis of the Monenergist and Monothelite Doctrines

In 616, in an attempt to shore up imperial authority in the wake of the Persian invasions of Syria, and with an invasion of Egypt imminent, Heraclius' cousin Nicetas achieved a tentative union between the Jacobite and Coptic churches of Syria and Egypt respectively.[13] From around 616 or 617, Heraclius and the patriarch Sergius saw monenergism as a way to restore ecclesiastical unity throughout what was left of the empire: the assertion of a unique activity in Christ should appeal to the non-Chalcedonians, while the preservation of the affirmation of two natures would appease the Chalcedonians. The assertion of 'one will' seemed to be a natural corollary to the assertion of a single activity. Our evidence for the early phase of the doctrines comes from Maximus' *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, which took place in Carthage in July 645,[14] the *Proceedings* of the Lateran Council (649) and Constantinople III (680/1), and the *Vita Maximi*.[15] In 616–18 Sergius presented the monenergist doctrine in a letter to the non-Chalcedonian monk George Arsas of Alexandria, to the outrage of George's bishop John the Almsgiver, a fierce supporter of Chalcedon.[16] Sergius asked George to supply him with texts supporting the doctrine.[17]

[12] Murphy–Sherwood, 188.

[13] See D. Olster, 'Chalcedonian and Monophysite: the Union of 616', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 27 (1985), 93–108, on the factors which motivated the various factions involved in the reconciliation. This union had nothing to do with the development of the monenergist doctrine at the same time by Heraclius.

[14] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 332B11–333B8.

[15] Murphy–Sherwood, 172, also mention Maximus' letter to Marinus of Cyprus, of 645–6, on which see Sherwood, *Date-List*, 53–5, nos. 79–85.

[16] Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 280 (ex. 279).

[17] Murphy–Sherwood, 173.

The author of the *Vita Maximi* places the weight of blame on Athanasius, patriarch of the Jacobites in Antioch (593–631), claiming that he persuaded Heraclius that he would receive the Council of Chalcedon, if the emperor agreed to the doctrine of monenergism.[18] Theodore of Pharan, a Chalcedonian, was consulted by Sergius and persuaded to approve the doctrine. In his letter to Theodore, Sergius cited a forged letter of Menas, patriarch of Constantinople (536–52) to Pope Vigilius.[19] This *Libellus*, now lost, affirmed 'one activity and one will' of the incarnate Word.[20] Some of Theodore's subsequent writings on the subject have survived, including his *Letter to Sergius of Arsinoë on the single activity*, and a work called *The interpretation of patristic texts*, which boldly asserts that 'Christ's will in effect is one and it is divine'.[21] Sergius also wrote to Paul the Blind, leader of the non-Chalcedonians in Cyprus. Paul had met with Heraclius in Armenia (622–3) where the emperor made an unsuccessful attempt to convert him to monenergism.[22] Paul was sent back to his archbishop Arcadius in Cyprus, with a decree forbidding talk of two activities after the union.[23]

The compromise doctrine eventually found its most ready adherent in Cyrus of Phasis, in Lazica, who was contacted during Heraclius' campaign there against Persia in 626. Sergius wrote to Cyrus on the subject of a single activity in Christ in the same year, in answer to his objections to the doctrine[24] on the grounds that it was irreconcilable with Pope Leo's formula: 'Each form (i.e. nature) performs what is proper to it, in communion with the other' (*agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est.*)[25] In his reply, Sergius cited the spurious *Libellus of Menas*, 'in which, in a similar way, he taught the doctrine of one will and one *life-giving* operation *of the great God and Saviour our Lord Jesus Christ* (Tit. 2: 13)'.[26] In regard to Leo's statement Sergius turned the usual

[18] *Vita Maximi*, *PG* 90. 76C14–77B2.

[19] Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 281. See Murphy–Sherwood, 173 f. for descriptions of Sergius' first four letters on the subject; a brief account of Cyrus' letter to Theodore of Pharan is given in *Vita Maximi*, *PG* 90. 77C7–D3.

[20] As mentioned by Maximus in the *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 332B–C.

[21] Extracts of both these texts are translated in Murphy–Sherwood, 350–2.

[22] Murphy–Sherwood, 173 f.

[23] *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 528. 4–10 (=Mansi 11. 525B) in the *Letter of Sergius to Cyrus*, quoted in the twelfth session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (*CPG* 7604).

[24] *CPG* 7610; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 285, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 588, 7–592, 4.

[25] Leo made this statement in his *Epist.* 11. 4 *ad Flavianum*, *ACO* 2. 1. 1, p. 14, lines 27–9.

[26] *CPG* 7604, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 528. 17–19.

interpretation around,[27] by taking the nominative subject as an ablative: '(Christ) performs what is proper to him with each form, in communion with the other.'[28] By this cunning manoeuvre Sergius made the pope's statement sound like an affirmation of monenergism. He continues: 'One ought to recognize it, because various teachers of the catholic church rose to the defence of this letter, and we know none of these to have said that the most holy Leo asserted two activities in this book.'[29] Cyrus was impressed and duly converted. He was rewarded with election to the patriarchate of Alexandria in 631.

Theological Implications of Monenergism

Drawing on the Cyrilline Chalcedonian tradition, the doctrine of monenergism affirmed that Christ was 'one of the Holy Trinity, the Word God', from two natures, that is from both Godhead and humanity, and discerned in two natures. This single person 'performed activities fitting for God and for a human being by one theandric activity',[30] according to a quotation (or misquotation) from ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's letter to Gaius.[31] The authority of this text was made dubious by the existence of two variant readings: the non-Chalcedonian version, cited by the Severans at the Council of Constantinople in 532, was that of 'one theandric activity', although some manuscripts supplied 'a certain new theandric activity'. The problem of identifying the correct reading is compounded by the fact that the ps.-Dionysian text only exists in the edition of John of Scythopolis, who may have revised the text in line with his own dyophysite leanings.[32] As we shall see,

[27] That this is not what Leo intended is clear from the following words in his Tome: *Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est.*

[28] He does the same in his second letter to Cyrus (*CPG* 7605), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 134–8, after the union in Alexandria, as E. Bellini notes in 'Maxime interprète de Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite', in Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 40 and n. 15.

[29] *oportet eam scire, quod . . . diversi probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum ad iustam et veram advocationem praedictae epistulae adsurrexerunt, et nullum horum scimus dixisse, quod in praesenti libro duas operationes Leo sanctissimus asseruisset. ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 531. 1–6. It should be noted, however, that the Greek edition does not mark ἑκατέρα μορφή as dative, either in this letter (528. 25) or in Sergius' second letter to Cyrus, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 138. 1. It is, however, in the dative case in Maximus' citation of the phrase in the *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 352B5–6.

[30] *Pact of Union*, chaps. 6 and 7, trans. by P. Allen, forthcoming.

[31] *Ep. 4 ad Gaium*, *PG* 3. 1072C1.

[32] *Corpus Dionysiacum* 2, ed. G. Heil and A. M. Ritter, *PTS* 36 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1991), 161. 9–10.

Maximus the Confessor rejected the monenergist version on the grounds that it was impossible. In his *Synodical Letter*, Sophronius interpreted the phrase to mean 'not existing as one (activity) but existing in different kinds.'[33] The assertion made in the theopaschite formula that 'one of the Trinity, God the Word, suffered in the flesh' also seemed to imply a single divine activity of the Incarnate Word. Severus was claimed to have supported monenergism implicitly, by both its supporters and its enemies, since he objected to the distinction made between acts of Christ as God and acts of Christ as human. Maximus Confessor writes that the Severan bishops on Crete confessed neither two activities in Christ, nor one activity, but in accordance with Severus they affirmed that 'one will, and every divine and human activity proceed from one and the same God the Word incarnate'.[34]

Reception of the Monenergist Compromise

The monenergist compromise succeeded in uniting the Armenian church with imperial 'orthodoxy' in 630, and also had limited success in the churches of Syria and Mesopotamia. It enjoyed greatest success in Egypt under the monenergist convert Cyrus who, as patriarch of Alexandria, promulgated the Alexandrian *Pact of Union* or *Nine Chapters* (*CPG* 7613) in June 633.[35] The last chapter anathematizes anyone who accepts the writings of Theodoret, the letter of Ibas, and the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. It affirms the use of the Marian title 'Theotokos' (ch. 5); the theopaschite formula derived from Cyril (ch. 2) and Cyril's own theopaschite statement (ch. 3); his statement of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'; and a single theandric activity in Christ, citing the monenergist version of the words of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (ch. 7). It makes no mention

[33] There is variation in the citation of this phrase in Sophronius' *Synodical Letter*, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 456. 14 where four manuscripts read κοινὴν ('common') rather than καινὴν ('new'). Bellini, 'Maxime', in Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor,* 41 n. 18, notes this divergence in the manuscript tradition. The latter reading is accepted by C. von Schönborn in *Sophrone de Jérusalem, Vie monastique et confession dogmatique, Théologie Historique* 20 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 208, in his translation of extracts of Sophronius' *Synodical Letter.*

[34] *Opus*. 3. 49C.

[35] This is preserved under the title *Satisfactio* in the proceedings of the Lateran Synod (ch. 7 only), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 134. 4–29, and in full in the proceedings of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 594. 14–601. 20.

of a single will in Christ. The Theodosian party of Alexandria[36] agreed to its terms and was reconciled, to the great satisfaction of Cyrus and Sergius.[37]

Their relief was to be short-lived, however. Sophronius immediately objected to the *Pact of Union* and appealed to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople. Sergius thereupon issued the *Psephos* (633) forbidding any mention of one or two activities in Christ, and excluding the possibility of two contrary wills. Soon after his consecration as patriarch of Jerusalem in 634 Sophronius declared his support for the Chalcedonian position in his *Synodical Letter*, which technically observes the *Psephos* by not counting the activities, but rejects monenergism on the grounds that it entails monophysitism.[38] Sophronius was clear in his insistence on the two-nature formula as affirmed at Chalcedon, and sought to explain the phrase from Leo's *Tome to Flavian*: 'Each form (that is, nature) effects that which is proper to it, in union with the other.'[39] On the subject of wills Sophronius did not affirm one will but did speak of God the Word as 'totally emptying himself by his paternal will and his own',[40] and he spoke of 'one mind (νοῦς), related to ours'.[41] Curiously, the *Psephos* was approved by Maximus the Confessor,[42] who had been a close friend of Sophronius since the occasion of their meeting in North Africa,[43] although he sought

[36] They were named after their influential patriarch Theodosius, who, despite protection from Empress Theodora, had been condemned to exile by Justinian. Even in exile, however, he remained significant both politically and dogmatically. See Grillmeier 2/2. 347–8, and A. Van Roey and P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, *Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta* 56 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 126–43.

[37] See Cyrus' second *Letter to Sergius* (*CPG* 7611), *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 592. 1–594. 12.

[38] Louth, *Maximus*, 15. Sophronius' *Synodical Letter*, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 410. 13–494. 9.

[39] *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 442. 15–16. See n. 27 above.

[40] ὅλον ἑαυτὸν κενώσας πατρικῷ καὶ οἰκείῳ θελήματι: *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 432. 4–5.

[41] *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 432. 7.

[42] Maximus' letter to Pyrrhus, *Letter* 19, *PG* 91. 589C1–597B3.

[43] According to the Syriac *Life*, Maximus arrived in Africa after Constans II's accession in 641. Brock, 'Syriac Life', 324–5, in his commentary on chs. 17–18 gives a summary of the discrepancies in the sources concerning Maximus' movements in the 630s and 640s. The Syriac *Life* is of considerably greater value for this part of Maximus' life than for his early years, of which its vitriolic account is most likely of as little value as the encomiastic version given in the Greek *Life*. For more information on Maximus' later years we await the edition of Maximus' *Letters and Opuscula*, which is currently being prepared by Dr Basile Markesinis for the *CCSG*. The end of Maximus' *Letter* 8, published by R. Devreesse, 'La fin inédite d'une lettre de saint Maxime', *Revue des Sciences religieuses* 17 (1937), 25–35, gives an exact date of 632 for the letter. On account of this, Sherwood, *Date-List*, 6, suggests that Maximus came to Africa around 628/30. Sherwood conjectures that Maximus may have been in Alexandria with Sophronius in 633 (*Date-List*, 28–9). According to the Syriac *Vita* (ch. 18),

clarification of certain terms used in the edict. Sergius reported these developments to the bishop of Rome, Honorius (625–38) (*CPG* 7606). Demonstrating a spectacular lack of awareness of the theological issues at stake, Honorius replied with a letter of congratulations (*CPG* 9375) for obtaining theological agreement in the eastern churches. This letter contained the infamous statement of what was to become the heretical doctrine of monothelitism: a confession of 'the one will of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[44] Thus the pope was later credited as the inventor of the heretical doctrine.

In a second letter to Sergius,[45] Honorius seems to retreat from his former position, perhaps as a result of receiving Sophronius' *Synodical Letter*. At Sophronius' instigation, Arcadius of Cyprus convened a synod in the mid-630s.[46] According to the author of the Syriac *Vita Maximi*, Anastasius, whom the author claims was of African origin, was there to defend Maximus' 'pernicious' doctrine.[47] He met with little success, the bishops being unable to reach a conclusion, and finally appealing to the judgement of the emperor. Sophronius then sent his envoy Stephen of Dora to Rome. At this point, Maximus began to make his objections to the monenergist compromise known in writing, in *Ambigua* 5, where he argues against Cyrus of Alexandria's citation of the

he returned to Syria-Palestine at some time before 641, 'where he was active shortly after the Arab invasions.' (Brock, 'Syriac Life', 325). If the Syriac *Vita* is accurate, it might be necessary, as Brock suggests (325), to posit two sojourns of the Confessor in Africa, one before 633 and the second after the latter part of 641.

[44] *unde et unam voluntatem fatemur domini Iesu Christi*: *Letter of Pope Honorius to Sergius* (*CPG* 9375), preserved in *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 551. 14–15. Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* 3/1, 350 claim that the first of the two old Latin versions, which were made from the Greek translation and are printed in Mansi 11, cols. 538 ff., must have been prepared by the Roman librarian Anastasius. The involvement of Anastasius, the ninth-century translator, is not possible, however, since the letter is an integral part of the acts of the twelfth session, as composed in 681.

[45] *CPG* 9377, surviving only in fragments in the 13th session of the proceedings of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 620. 22–622. 10; 622. 12–624. 20.

[46] The Syriac *Vita Maximi*, chs. 10–14, Brock, 'Syriac Life', 316 f., is the only witness to this synod. See M. Albert and C. von Schönborn (eds.), *La Lettre de Sophrone de Jérusalem à Arcadius de Chypre*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 39 (2), n. 179 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 172–6. The late Arcadius is mentioned as a stalwart opponent of monothelitism in Maximus' letter to Peter (*PG* 91. 143B8), and he is probably the subject of Maximus' praise of the bishop of Cyprus, in his *Letter to Marinus* (*PG* 91. 245B14 and n. 32): see Sherwood, *Date-List*, 42.

[47] Brock, 'Syriac Life', chs. 10–14, c. 19, 316–18. This could not refer to two wills at this early stage, as Maximus' works on the subject only appeared in the 640s; cf. ch. 9, 316: 'And he wrote four books, acknowledging in them two wills and two activities and two minds'.

monenergist version of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite's expression: 'one theandric activity'.[48]

Development of Monothelitism

The monothelite position was enshrined in the *Ekthesis* (*CPG* 7607) drafted by Sergius in 638 with the help of the future Patriarch Pyrrhus, abbot of the monastery of Chrysopolis, who succeeded Sergius in that same year. Both the *Ekthesis* and the later *Typos* (647/8) stand in a tradition of imperial statements on faith questions.[49] The *Ekthesis*, signed by the Emperor Heraclius, was drafted in very similar wording to the *Pact of Union* of 633, up to the point where it rejected the teaching of one or two activities in the divine incarnation:

> The expression 'one activity', even if it was uttered by certain Fathers, nevertheless alienated and confused some who heard it, who supposed that it would lead to the destruction of the two natures which were hypostatically united in Christ our God. In a similar way the expression 'two activities' scandalised many, on the grounds that it had been uttered by none of the holy and approved spiritual leaders of the church, but to follow it was to profess two wills at variance with one another, such that God the Word wished to fulfil the salutary suffering but his humanity resisted his will and was opposed to it, and as a result two persons with conflicting wills were introduced, which is impious and foreign to Christian teaching.[50]

Honorius did not live to make any response to this document, as he died in 638, before he received it—perhaps fortunately enough for Rome's future reputation as the upholder of orthodoxy. His successor Severinus refused to accept it, and was brutalised by the exarch. The following popes, John IV (640–2), Theodore I (642–9), and Martin (649–53), all rejected the *Ekthesis*. In 641, Emperor Heraclius died and left the crown to Constantine III and Heraclonas, his two sons by different wives. Constantine died in mysterious circumstances soon afterwards, and power was seized by Heraclius' wife and niece, Martina, mother of Heraclonas. She

[48] *Ambigua* 5. 1057a–b, trans. by Louth, *Maximus*, 177. Maximus deals with the subject again in 642 in *Opus.* 7. 84d–85a, ibid. 188.

[49] Brandes, 143.

[50] *Ekthesis*, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 160. 10–19, trans. by Pauline Allen, forthcoming. This passage is taken over from the *Psephos* of June 633, preserved in the letter of Sergius to Honorius of 634 (*CPG* 7606), *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 540. 22–544. 4 (=Mansi 11. 533C–536A). Trans. by Murphy–Sherwood, 354.

was deposed in November 641 and replaced by Heraclius' grandson Constans II. Pyrrhus, a supporter of Martina, was also deposed and replaced by Paul II as patriarch in the same year.

Maximus the Confessor went to Africa with his disciple Anastasius after the accession of Constans II, according to the Greek *Vita*.[51] He had come out openly against monothelitism in *c*.640.[52] A comprehensive account of his Christology has been offered by Bausenhart,[53] and we will attempt but a brief summary of Maximus' principal arguments against the doctrine of one will. While Maximus was concerned to defend Honorius against charges of personal heresy, he criticized the Constantinopolitan interpretation of the pope's formulation of 'one will in Christ' as diminishing the Incarnate Word and limiting his saving activity: Honorius' definition referred only to the humanity of Christ, he argued.[54] Maximus' early arguments, which draw on the Aristotelian tradition in which will is defined as 'rational desire', are summarized in *Opus*. 7 (642) and *Opus*. 3 (*c*.645), both addressed to the deacon Marinus of Cyprus. In the first of these, Maximus casts around for patristic authorities to refute the *Ekthesis*. He quotes from a work that was attributed, possibly spuriously, to Athanasius, on the Agony in the Garden:

And when he says, '*Father, if it be possible let this cup pass*,' as the great Athanasius says in his treatise on the Incarnation and the Trinity, '*nevertheless not my will be done, but yours. For the spirit is eager but the flesh is weak*,' we understand 'that two wills are manifest here: the human which belongs to the flesh, and the divine. For the human will, because of the weakness of the flesh, seeks to avoid the passion; the divine will is eager'.[55]

[51] *Vita Maximi*, Recension III, 'Additamentum' edited by Devreesse, 'La Vie', 5–49. If the account in the Syriac *Vita* (see the commentary on chs. 17–18 by Brock, 'Syriac Life', 325) is correct, this was Maximus' second sojourn in Africa. The biography of Maximus is treated in more detail in Larchet, 127 f., 148, 152–5, 160, 169, 174. See also J.-C. Larchet, *La Divinisation de l'homme selon saint Maxime le Confesseur*, *Cogitatio fidei* 194 (Paris: CERF, 1996), 7–20; J.-C. Larchet and E. Ponsoye, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur. Opuscules théologiques et polémiques* (Paris: CERF, 1998), 7–16.

[52] Louth, *Maximus*, 16; Sherwood, *Date-List*, no. 60, 43 notes that Maximus' earliest attack on the *Ekthesis* was made in his letter of 640 to Abbot Thalassius concerning the affair of Pope Severinus' apocrisiaries in 638.

[53] G. Bausenhart, *'In allem uns gleich außer der Sünde'. Studien zum Beitrag Maximos' des Bekenners zur altkirchlichen Christologie*, *Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie* 5 (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1992).

[54] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 328C1–332A3. Cf. *Pope John's Defence of Honorius* (*PL* 129. 561–6, in the *Collectanea* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius).

[55] *Opus*. 7. 81C, Louth, *Maximus*, 187. Maximus is quoting ps.-Athanasius, *On the Incarnation and Against the Arians* 21, *PG* 26. 1021B–C. The work is attributed to Marcellus of

Maximus adduces further support from Gregory Nazianzen's statement: 'For the willing of that one is not opposed [to God] but completely deified.'[56] The quotation is deliberately taken completely out of context, as Louth notes.[57] To explain this citation, Maximus introduces the distinction between gnomic and natural wills, an important one for the orthodox position, and expanded upon in *Opus*. 3. All human beings since the Fall have a 'gnomic' or deliberative will, because they are uncertain in their attempt to follow the will of God, since they cannot correctly identify the good, having been blinded by sin. Christ, on the other hand, according to Maximus, did not have a deliberative will since he did not need to deliberate about the right course of action, but rather his natural human will conformed perfectly to the divine will.

The Fathers openly confessed two natural, but not gnomic, wills in Christ, lest they proclaim him double-minded and double-willed, and fighting against himself, so to speak, in the discord of his thoughts, and therefore double-personed.[58]

This view presumes the existence of two natures in Christ, a human and a divine one, and two activities. Maximus' doctrine of the 'exchange of properties' (*ἀντίδοσις/communicatio idiomatum*) affirms that in Christ there is a fully human nature with its own properties, and a fully divine nature with its own properties, neither of which is diminished in any way by the union.[59] On the question of two activities, he cites two patristic passages that refer to the unity of activities: ps.-Dionysius' 'theandric activity'[60] and Cyril of Alexandria's statement that 'the activity is shown to have kinship with both (natures)'.[61] These are not to be understood as indicating numerical unity after the union, however, but a kind of 'double activity of the double nature'.[62] Activities are natural, proceeding from natures, and cannot be understood as hypostatic, for

Ancyra by M. Geerard in *CPG* 2806. This passage was also quoted *in extenso* at the Sixth Ecumenical Council, *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 298. 9–18.

56 *Opus*. 7. 81c, ibid., citing Gregory Nazianzen, *Sermon* 30. 12.

57 Ibid. 217 n. 23: Gregory was arguing against the Eunomians' claim that the distinction between the will of the Son and the will of the Father contradicted the doctrine of their consubstantiality. The citation is given a fairer treatment in *Opus*. 3. 48a–b.

58 *Opus*. 3. 56b in Louth, *Maximus*, 197.

59 As expressed in *Opus*. 7. 84d. See Murphy–Sherwood, 229.

60 *Ep. ad Gaium* 4, *PG* 3. 1072C1.

61 *Commentary on John*, 4. 2.

62 *Opus*. 7. 85a. 188.

in that case Christ would have a different activity from that of the Father, since he is a separate person.[63]

In July 645, Pyrrhus agreed to a public debate with Maximus in Carthage over the orthodoxy of monothelitism.[64] The debate was held in the presence of the exarch Gregory.[65] Murphy and Sherwood explain the difficulty for the monothelites in this way: the will is a *particular* human activity, which is primarily known in actions and interactions. Thus the will can easily appear to characterise the person, and agent and action seem impossible to distinguish.[66] Since the unity of agent in the incarnate Word had been insisted upon by all who accepted the teachings of Cyril, this orthodox belief seemed to imply the non-orthodox doctrines of monenergism and monothelitism; as the confused Pyrrhus protested, 'But one person who wills presupposes one will of that person, not two.'[67] If activity and will are assigned to the person, the divine person who is the second of the Trinity will have only a divine will and a divine activity, and the work of salvation will be rendered meaningless, as the actions of a mere puppet. Maximus insisted, however, that will (like activity) was natural, not hypostatic, although it emanated from the person. Our capacity to will is natural; how we will, the process of willing, is personal. According to this distinction, natural will is an essential property of the unalterable natural definition (λόγος φυσέως) of each being.[68] Pyrrhus, reluctant to accept that will is characteristic of the nature rather than the person, objected that the human will of Christ, if it were natural, would therefore be necessary, thus excluding all free human movement.[69] Maximus' answer is that Christ is, like all human beings, self-determining (αὐτεξούσιος).[70] Christ's was the only human will that was truly free, that is, free to conform to the divine will of God. Human beings can gradually return to this state, as the result of Christ assuming a human will in the incarnation, according to the principle that only that which was

[63] *Opus.* 7. 85b. 189.

[64] *PG* 91. 288A1–353A11. It is partially translated in Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 3/1. 405–22.

[65] Gregory was later accused of conspiracy against the emperor and was killed fighting the Arab incursions in 647.

[66] Murphy–Sherwood, 227.

[67] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 289A2–3; trans. by Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 3/1. 405.

[68] Murphy–Sherwood, 276–8.

[69] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 293B5–8.

[70] ibid. 324I–9; see Murphy–Sherwood, 276, and 278–81.

assumed by Christ in the flesh could be saved.[71] This is seen most clearly in the events of the Garden of Gethsemane and the passion of the crucifixion. While the incarnate Word suffered the natural movements of the rational soul he was endowed with, in accordance with its logos, such as fear of death, hunger, and thirst, he submitted these movements, by an act of his human will, to the will of the Father.[72] Thus he was able to overcome his natural repulsion to death, and to say to the Father, '*Not my will but yours be done*' (Matt. 26: 39). The main point of Maximus' arguments is presented in the *Dispute with Pyrrhus* in the simple expression: 'Thus Christ in his two natures, wills and operates our salvation.'[73] From the question of two wills, they proceed to two activities, whereupon Maximus again expounds ps.-Dionysius' 'new theandric activity' as referring to a qualitative change in the activities after the union, not a quantitative one.[74]

Pyrrhus suffered a resounding defeat, and declared himself persuaded to abandon the heresy, after presenting himself in Rome with a statement of his orthodoxy to Pope Theodore. Maximus seems to have followed him to Rome at his request in 645 or 646. As soon as Pyrrhus reached Ravenna in 647, he recanted and returned to the monothelite fold, perhaps yielding to pressure from the exarch. Maximus continued to oppose the heretical doctrine, unperturbed by the *Typos*, issued by Patriarch Paul in 647 or 648 in the name of Emperor Constans II, which banned any mention of either one or two activities or wills in Christ. This edict met with widespread resistance, both eastern and western. Theodore and Euprepius, who were sons of the imperial miller, were arrested in Italy and banished to exile in the Chersonese for their opposition. Their friend Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, a papal representative to the emperor, was sentenced to exile in Trebizond at this time. Pope Martin, also an *apocrisiarius* in the imperial capital before his election to the pontificate, refused to seek confirmation of his election in 649 from either the emperor or from the imperial exarch, in direct defiance of the heretical rule.

[71] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 325A14; trans. by Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 3/1. 415. The principle is affirmed by Gregory Nazianzen, *Ep.* 101.32.

[72] Murphy–Sherwood, 285.

[73] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 320C12–14; cf. *Record* §7.

[74] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 345C5–348C7; trans. by Hefele–Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 3/1. 420.

Lateran Synod of 649

Preparations for the Lateran Synod must have been already under way during the pontificate of Theodore, given the speed with which it was convened after Martin's accession. Just three months after his election, Martin opened the Synod in October 649 to condemn the *Ekthesis* and the *Typos*, a council attended by many Greek monks as well as those from Italy (mostly from suburbicarian Rome), Africa, and Libya. Maximus' name appears in the subscriptions to the *Libellus* included in the proceedings of the council, as well as the names of two monks called Anastasius.[75] Although we have no conclusive proof that he was in attendance, it is likely that he would have wished to keep a low profile, given the hostility that had been engendered against him in the Byzantine court since his vocal protest against the *Typos* of 647/8. Riedinger has pointed to significant evidence that the proceedings of the council were composed in Greek before the council and were then translated into Latin.[76] He suggests that the 'council' was no more than a meeting convoked by Martin to hear and approve the Latin version of the 'proceedings' which had been formulated in the Roman archive.[77] These had been written in Greek by Maximus Confessor during the pontificate of Theodore, who spoke Greek himself, but who had died before the 'council' could be staged. There was in fact no real discussion or debate at the council. He further suggests that the Latin translation was made by the Byzantine monks who came to Rome with Maximus.[78] Pierres, who earlier identified Canons 10 and 11 of the Lateran Council as the work of Maximus, and proved that they had been written in Greek originally, also pointed out that twenty-seven of the orthodox and heretical quotations cited during the fifth session of the council had already appeared in Maximus' *Tomus Spiritualis*.[79] It should be remembered, as Alexakis points

[75] *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 57, nos. 27, 34, and 35.

[76] R. Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximos Confessor', in Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 111–21. The proceedings were designed to appear as if they had been originally conceived in Latin: see *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 54. 35–7 where the Greek monks and presbyters request a Greek translation to be made of the Latin acts.

[77] R. Riedinger, 'Griechische Konzilsakten auf dem Wege ins lateinische Mittelalter', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 9 (1977), 255–7. See also J.-M. Sansterre, *Les Moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1980), 117–19.

[78] Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode', 119.

[79] J. Pierres, *Sanctus Maximus Confessor, princeps apologetarum synodi Lateranensis anni 649 (Pars historica)*, Diss. Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana (Rome, 1940), 12*–14.

out,[80] that Martin was not accused by the imperial authorities in Constantinople of staging the Lateran Synod of 649. He was charged rather with treason, for conspiring with the exarch Olympius against the emperor in 649. It seems unlikely, however, that the Byzantines would have had the means to find out whether the council had been a genuine synod, given that the only Greek representatives to attend were supporters of Maximus and Martin. Insofar as the council was attended by its signatories and issued twenty canons, it matters little for the validity of its conclusions who wrote the speeches that were presented.

One of the most interesting aspects of the proceedings of the Lateran Synod is its preservation of the largest florilegium of scriptural and patristic authorities ever to be documented at a council.[81] This consisted of 123 quotations supporting the dyothelite position, and forty-two monothelite citations, which were condemned in the canons issued at the close of the council.[82] The compilation of these largely Greek sources was probably also the work of Maximus,[83] although the Latin monks may have contributed the few Latin citations included,[84] from Augustine and Ambrose, Leo I, and Hilary. The authenticity of Cyrus' citation of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite as speaking of 'one theandric activity'[85] was brought into question after Sergius' letter of approval for the *Nine Chapters* was read aloud. Sergius had misquoted Cyrus' citation by omitting the word 'theandric'.[86] Both 'heretics' were taken to task for this at the council, and the 'true' reading, that is, 'a new theandric activity' was affirmed, after comparison with the original *Letter to Gaius*.[87] Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, and the three patriarchs of Constantinople Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul were anathematized together with their writings, and all who followed them.[88] The council was to

[80] Alexakis, 20 f.

[81] Alexakis, 18.

[82] *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 258–314 (dyothelite citations); 320–34 (monothelite citations). See also the *Florilegium Dyotheleticum*, ibid. 425–36.

[83] Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode', 118.

[84] Twenty-seven out of 123 quotations: Alexakis, 18 n. 75 and 20. See also Sansterre, *Les Moines*, 119 and n. 55.

[85] μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ in the seventh chapter of the *Pact of Union*, read aloud at the Council, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 134. 19.

[86] *Letter of Sergius to Cyrus* (*CPG* 7605), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 136. 37.

[87] *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 140. 34–6; 142. 29–144. 3.

[88] Ch. 18, Session 5, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 382. 30–384. 27.

spark an angry reaction from Constantinople, which culminated in the arrest and exile of Martin, Maximus, and his disciples.

III. BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS

Very few theological treatises survive from Maximus' pen after his departure to Rome in 646.[89] However, seven largely biographical documents in Greek and in a Latin translation shed light on the imperial reaction against those who resisted monothelitism. In chronological order, these are:

1. *Record of the Trial*, an eyewitness account of the events of the trial of Maximus and his disciple Anastasius in Constantinople in 655, largely consisting of reported dialogue between Maximus and his various accusers and calumniators.
2. *Dispute between Maximus and Theodosius, Bishop of Caesarea Bithynia*, a word-for-word account of the debate between Maximus and Bishop Theodosius, which took place during Maximus' exile in Bizya in August 656, and was written within a year of the events described.
3. *Letter of Maximus to Anastasius the monk, his disciple*: Maximus' letter dates to 19 April 658, while both he and Anastasius the monk were in exile in Perberis.
4. *Letter of Anastasius to the monks of Cagliari*: Anastasius (either the disciple or the Apocrisiarius) seeks the monks' help in Rome, and offers them encouragement in their continued resistance to the monothelite party.
5. *Letter of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra*, written not long before his death in exile in Lazica on 11 October 666, and accompanied by *testimonia* (lit. 'witnesses') falsely attributed to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus, and syllogisms, probably from the hand of Anastasius himself.
6. *Commemoration*, a record of the terrible trials in exile of Pope Martin I, Maximus the Confessor, Anastasius the Disciple, Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Theodore, and Euprepius, all martyrs for the dyothelite cause. This was written in late 668 or early 669 by the fervent but poorly educated Theodore Spoudaeus, who, together with his brother Theodosius of Gangra, made the long trek to the Caucasus to visit the exiled

[89] Louth, *Maximus*, 192.

pontiff, only to find that he had arrived too late: the pope was already dead.

7. *Against the people of Constantinople*, a later piece of colourful invective 'short on facts but long on rhetoric', as it has been described by Pauline Allen, written against the imperial monothelite party by an anonymous monk who was a vehement supporter of Maximus.[90]

Events of AD 653–69 Described in the Documents

The trials of Pope Martin and Maximus before the senate in Constantinople can only be understood, as Brandes recently noted in his magisterial study on the subject, against the background of the crisis facing Byzantium in the form of Arab invasions.[91] The hagiographical sources for the Life of Maximus offer little concrete information on these trials.[92] Fortunately the seven documents under consideration here have a great deal to say about these proceedings. They were what we might call 'show trials', designed by the senate to shift blame for the general crisis onto their dyothelite opponents, and to present them as criminals.[93] The weighty role of the senate can be seen in the high official status of the main protagonists. In 653, Martin was taken under imperial arrest to Constantinople, arriving on 17 September, where he was tried in 654 on charges of conspiring against the emperor Constans II with Olympius, exarch of Ravenna. Martin tried to bring up the matter of the Lateran Synod and was told that it was not relevant to the case. He received the death sentence but this was commuted to exile in the Chersonese, where he arrived in May of the same year (*Comm.* §§3 and 8).[94] He died soon afterwards, either on 16 September 655 or 13 April 656.[95]

[90] Henceforth these seven documents will be referred to in abbreviated form as: *Record*, *Dispute* (or *DB*), *Ep. Max.*, *Ep. Cal.*, *Ep. Anas.*, *Comm.*, and *CP.*

[91] Brandes, 146; and before him Haldon, 'Ideology and the Byzantine State in the Seventh Century. The "Trial" of Maximus Confessor', in V. Vavřínek (ed.), *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference (Prague: Academia, 1985), 87–92.

[92] Brandes, 153.

[93] Brandes, 212.

[94] Also described in the *Narrationes de exilio sancti Papae Martini* (*BHL* 5592), *PL* 129. 585–604.

[95] P. Peeters, in 'Une Vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I', *AB* 51 (1933), 232 ff., points out several discrepancies of detail between the *Narrationes de exilio sancti Papae Martini* and the Greek *Vita Martini*, including the dates given for Martin's death. Here he declared it

Maximus and Anastasius his disciple were arrested soon after Martin's arrest, in Rome according to the *Life of Maximus*,[96] and were escorted to Constantinople for trial in 655. Maximus was charged with having betrayed Egypt, Alexandria, and Africa to the Saracens (*Record* §1), of complicity with the conspirator exarch Gregory in Carthage (*Record* §2), and of opposition to the *Typos* (*Record* §9). No firm evidence of Maximus' involvement in the conspiracy of Gregory could be brought to bear—the accusation rested on a dream that Maximus was purported to have had. Brandes has brought to attention the political/ideological dimensions of this dream, based on Constantine the Great's famous vision on the Milvian Bridge, as it is found in the writings of Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410).[97] A direct relationship between the dream and the propaganda of Constans II seems possible, according to Brandes.[98] Maximus was also accused of Origenism, to which he reacted vehemently with an anathema of Origen and his works (*Record* §5). The author in *Record* §7 notes the appearance in Constantinople of the legates of Pope Eugenius, elected in August 654, seeking union with the patriarch.[99] Their imminent communion with the newly elected patriarch of Constantinople, Peter,[100] indicated papal support for the *Typos* and perhaps also for a statement of monothelitism issued by Pyrrhus upon his election. This approval does not square with Eugenius' actions, soon after his consecration on 10 August, when he apparently rejected the *Synodical Letter* of Peter, elected as Pyrrhus' successor in June 654. Our only witness to this rejection is the *Liber Pontificalis*, which states that the pope succumbed to pressure from the people and Roman clergy to reject Peter's statement, which was not explicit about the wills and activities of Christ.[101] There is no independent

impossible to choose between the two dates. The *Narrationes*, which include four letters from the hand of Pope Martin, are soon to be published in a critical edition by B. Neil.

[96] The author of the *Life of Maximus,* Recension II (*PG* 90. 85D–88A), declares that Maximus and both Anastasii were arrested at the same time as Martin, but is not a reliable witness for this or other chronological details.

[97] Brandes, 186f.

[98] Brandes, 189.

[99] Larchet, 163 n. 134, followed Devreesse in suggesting that these emissaries sought approval for the election of Eugenius, but this was based on an incorrect dating of the trial described in the *Record* to May–June 654.

[100] Peter was elected in June 654 after the death of Pyrrhus, who had held the patriarchal throne for the second time from December 653 until 3 June 654.

[101] The pope was not allowed to celebrate Mass until he promised to reject the *Synodical Letter*, according to the author of the *Life of Eugenius* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, Duchesne, *LP*

evidence for the content of Peter's synodical letter.[102] At the conclusion of this trial, Maximus was sentenced to exile in Thracian Bizya, and his disciple to Perberis.

In Bizya in August 656, Maximus held a dispute with Theodosius, who was convinced by the force of his arguments against the doctrine of one will in Christ, and promised to write to Rome to recant, asking Maximus to accompany him there if he were sent by the emperor and the patriarch (*DB* §4). Maximus initially refused, but suggested he take Anastasius the Apocrisiarius in his stead. Anastasius had been transferred to Mesembria some time before this suggestion was made in August 656 (*DB* §13). Theodosius would not accept the substitute, so Maximus reluctantly agreed to accompany him to Rome, if he was sent. This exchange may owe something to a similar account from the earlier dispute between Maximus and Pyrrhus in 645.[103] Maximus was next transferred to Rhegium, near Constantinople, where Theodosius returned to him, again asking him to re-enter into communion with the church of Constantinople (*DB* §10). The pope, it seems, had fallen out of favour with the imperial party by September 656, when the representatives of the patriarch Peter and the emperor threatened that they would dispose of the pope and those who spoke like him in Rome (*DB* §13). This Maximus refused to do, and he was transferred to Selymbria for two days, and then to Perberis in separate confinement from his disciple Anastasius. Here the legates of the patriarch Peter (654–66) visited him in April 658, in a renewed attempt at reconciliation. They referred to the union which had been effected among the churches of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. Maximus was threatened with death by order of the emperor and the bishops of Constantinople and Rome, if he refused to obey the emperor's command to enter into communion with the church of Constantinople. The letter of Anastasius to the monks in Cagliari rejects the compromise formula of the patriarch Peter, as defined in his letter to Pope Vitalian (657–72) on the subject of wills and operations in late 657 or early 658, in which Peter professed both one and two wills, and

1. 341 = R. Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis), Translated Texts for Historians Latin Series V* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 71, no. 77.

[102] See Winkelmann, no. 133, for references to the secondary literature on this letter, for which a date of 655 has been suggested.

[103] *Dispute with Pyrrhus*, *PG* 91. 353.

one and two activities in the economy of salvation, and excommunicated anyone who asserted otherwise.[104] Anastasius asks the monks to go to Rome to plead with the pope on their behalf.[105] The anxiety evident in his letter was due to uncertainty about the position of Vitalian, elected in June 657. Vitalian did not condemn the *Typos* in his synodical letter, and entered into communion with the church of Constantinople without apparent hesitation. Vitalian's accord with the imperial position seems to have remained unaltered: in 663, he welcomed Emperor Constans II to Rome. Thus we need to look further back than has previously been customary to the early stages of Eugenius' pontificate, for evidence that the bishop of Rome had not in fact represented the 'true catholic and apostolic church' after Martin was condemned to exile in 654.

The second trial of Maximus and his followers was convened in 662 by the imperial court, at which Maximus and the two Anastasii were sentenced to exile in Lazica (*DB* §17, *Comm.* §3). Anastasius the Apocrisiarius and Maximus suffered mutilation, according to the *Vita Maximi* (*PG* 90. 104D–105C), *DB* §17, *Comm.* §4 and *Ep. Anas.* §1. Maximus died at Schemaris on 13 August 662, Anastasius the Disciple in the previous month, on 22 or 24 July, at or in transit to Souania, and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius on 11 October 666, two years before Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra arrived there with the purpose of bringing him material and spiritual comfort (*Ep. Anas.* §§4–5 and Scholion). Within the year before his death, the Apocrisiarius wrote a letter to Theodosius of Gangra containing a plea for help, in which he outlined the vicissitudes of his final years: from Bouculus he was transferred to Thacyria for two months, then from September 663 he was moved again several times, spending a year in Phusta. In the spring of 664 he was on his way to Schemaris when he was unexpectedly freed by the patrician Gregory. He lived under Gregory's protection at Thousoumes

[104] Reported in the *Letter of Pope Agatho* (*CPG* 9417), *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 108. 18–110. 17 (= Mansi, XI. 276C–277A): '*Petrus eius successor ad sanctae memoriae Vitalianum papam scribens, et unam duas voluntates, et unam duas operationes in dispensatione incarnationis magni Dei et salvatoris sapere se profitetur Petrus quoque, et unam, et duas voluntates et operationes in dispensatione incarnationis salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi sapere se protestatur.*' See Winkelmann, no. 147.

[105] This letter is supposed by Larchet, 166, probably to have been written in June 654, i.e. before the first trial of Maximus, and before the newly elected Pope Eugenius rejected the *Synodical Letter* of Patriarch Peter. Thus Larchet explains Anastasius' sense of urgency as being occasioned by Eugenius' failure to have taken a stand against monothelitism at that point.

until his death in 666 (*Ep. Anas.* §7). He mentions a visit from Stephen, possibly Stephen of Dora, Sophronius' emissary to Rome in *c.*640. Stephen died during the return journey, on 1 January 665. In his letter Anastasius requested a copy of the *Acta* of the Lateran Synod to be sent to him. The brothers only received the letter in August 668, from the hands of Gregory, abbot of the Church of John the Baptist in Betararous. Theodore Spoudaeus' *Commemoration* records the sufferings of the martyrs for the dyothelite cause. It also suggests the presence in Lazica of Stephen of Dora from the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem. The burial of Martin in the church of St Maria of Blachernes, a mile out of the city of Cherson (*Comm.* §8), and miracles at Maximus' tomb at the monastery of St Arsenius in Lazica are recounted (*Ep. Anas.* §5, *Comm.* §9), possibly providing evidence of an early cult in Lazica. These accounts are given in the hope of the continued prayers and support of their readers.

Theological Arguments Presented in the Documents

Only in the *Record* and the *Dispute* are theological arguments against monothelitism presented in any detail. Although most of the charges brought against Maximus at his first trial are of a political nature, there is some discussion there of his reasons for rejecting the *Typos*. Maximus argues that the *Typos* is contrary to the Creed of Nicaea, as it deprives the creator God of a natural will and activity by silencing all talk of one or two wills or operations, for the sake of arranging peace. Since the *Typos* was issued under imperial authority, the question of the emperor's right to interfere in matters of doctrine is raised. Maximus argues against the exercise of a sacerdotal role by the emperor. He is asked to recount the dispute with Pyrrhus, and accused of persuading him to anathematize his own teaching, and to accept Maximus' personal doctrine. Maximus insists that he is not committed to his own teaching but to the common teaching of the catholic church. He refuses to enter into communion with the church of Constantinople while those who were condemned by the Lateran Synod still preside. He accuses the heretics of inconsistency: they overturned four holy councils by the *Nine Chapters*, and by the *Ekthesis* of Sergius, and by the *Typos*; what they taught in the *Chapters*, they condemned in the *Ekthesis*, and what they taught in

the *Ekthesis*, they annulled in the *Typos*. He suggests that Constans should dissociate himself from the *Typos*, just as Heraclius disowned the *Ekthesis* written in his name by Sergius. When asked why it is necessary to speak of wills and activities in Christ, he answers that nothing which exists can exist without a natural activity, for the holy Fathers say that there is not, nor can there be known, any nature without an essential activity which characterizes it. If this is so, how can Christ either be, or be known as, truly both God and a human being by nature? Referring again to the doctrine of the 'exchange of properties', Maximus continues by saying that, according to holy Scripture and to the holy teachers and councils, we are taught that the incarnate God is capable of will and of activity both in his divinity and his humanity. For in respect of nothing by which he is known as God, or by which he is known as a human being by nature, is he imperfect. And if he is perfect in each, so that he is diminished in neither, one must confess him to be what he is, with all the natural properties existing in him, out of which and in which and which he is proved to be. This last threefold expression is a favourite with Maximus, incorporating both the Syrian/Leonine phrase ('in two natures') and Cyrilline formula ('out of two natures').

In the *Dispute*, Maximus informs Theodosius that in saying there is one activity of the divinity and of the humanity of Christ he confuses the language of theology and economy, that is, language appropriate for speaking of the Trinity, and appropriate to Christ's work of salvation. For, if 'one activity implies one hypostasis',[106] then the holy Trinity is made a quaternity, as if Christ's flesh were made one being with the Word, and an extra person were added to the three persons of the Trinity. And by destroying the two activities, and asserting a single will of his divinity and humanity, the heretics remove the possibility of Christ bestowing blessings upon us, since, even though he wants to, he cannot without an activity according to nature. Not only do they insist on one will, but that a divine one, which has no beginning or end. Thus Christ the flesh with a divine will becomes co-creator of the world with the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit, which is ridiculous as well as impious. As in the *Record*, Maximus condemns the *Typos* for removing the will and activity of Christ, without which he cannot exist, citing ps.-Dionysius as his authority: 'For what has no

[106] A citation of ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *Adv. Eunomium* 4. *PG* 29. 676A2 (*CPG* 2837).

power, neither exists nor is anything, nor has any disposition whatsoever.'[107]

After all the patristic passages adduced by Theodosius have been shown to be spurious and refuted,[108] Theodosius is persuaded to admit that he too confesses different human and divine natures, wills, and activities, but will not speak of two wills or activities, lest they be seen to be contrary to each other. Maximus forces him to admit that when he speaks of two natures, the number does not introduce division. Theodosius, however, refuses to do the same in the case of wills and activities, but prefers to speak as the Fathers did, of one and another, or double and twofold. Maximus reduces his opponent to ridicule by demanding of the onlookers, 'How many does one and one make?', as if Theodosius were merely refusing to do his sums. Maximus then uses the proceedings of the Lateran Synod to demonstrate that the Fathers openly spoke of two wills and activities. Theodosius seems to be persuaded and declares his acceptance of two wills and two activities, but then opens his questioning again, asking Maximus if there is no way at all in which he will speak of one will and activity in Christ. Maximus replies in the negative, since one cannot say that the single will and activity is natural, or hypostatic, or of one being, or dispositional, or beyond nature. He insists that activity is not hypostatic, that is, according to what each person does, but rather is natural, according to the common rationale of nature. This is a development of the same point made earlier in the *Dispute with Pyrrhus*. Theodosius declares himself convinced, but fails to persuade the emperor and the patriarch to abandon the official doctrine, and Maximus' fate is sealed when he is summoned within a few weeks to Rhegium, near Constantinople, and given an imperial ultimatum which he refuses to obey.

The Italo-Greek contribution to dyothelite resistance at the time of the controversy is evident in several written sources: Maximus' letters to monks in Sicily whom he visited on his way to Rome, and Anastasius' *Letter to the Monks of Cagliari*. It is corroborated by the prominent role of Bishop Deusdedit of Cagliari at the

[107] Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus* 8. 5, ed. B. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum* 1. 203. 2–4.

[108] Writings of Apollinaris attributed to Julius of Rome, Gregory Thaumatourgus, and Athanasius; two testimonies of Nestorius attributed to John Chrysostom; an expression from Cyril's *Commentary on John* 4. 2, which was said by Maximus to be an addition by Timothy Aelurus to Cyril's work.

Lateran Synod.[109] When Pope Agatho convened a council of 125 bishops in Rome in *c.*679 at the request of the Emperor Constantine IV[110] to discuss the monothelite question, there was a significant number from Calabria and Sicily in attendance: thirteen in all subscribed to the proceedings of the Council.[111]

Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople 680/1

The Council of Rome was followed by the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople. In response to Constantine IV's request for representatives,[112] as well as for texts which dealt with the monothelite issue, Agatho sent a delegation of seven representatives.[113] The florilegium they brought was basically the same as that of the Lateran Synod of 649, containing both orthodox and heretical quotations.[114] The citations in the Roman florilegium were carefully compared with other versions in patriarchal books and those that the legates had brought from Rome, in order to ascertain their authenticity. Monothelite texts were likewise examined, and those which were found to be forgeries, such as the *Letter of Menas to Vigilius*, were rejected. Macarius of Antioch, who had presented the monothelite case with the monk Stephen, was accused of producing false texts and anathematised, along with his followers. The council concluded this highly original exercise in literary criticism with the condemnation of Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter of Constantinople, Theodore of

[109] Deusdedit's successor Justin also signed the *Acta* after the Synod, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 402. 16 (= no. 109).

[110] The imperial *Sacra* addressed to Agatho's predecessor Donus were dated 12 Aug. 678.

[111] *Letter of Pope Agatho to Constantine IV* (*CPG* 9418), *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 122–39; subscriptions: 140–59.

[112] *Sacra Constantini IV imperatoris ad Donum papam* (*CPG* 9416), a. 678: *ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 6. 7–8. 4. Constantine asked for up to twelve Western bishops and representatives from the four Greek monasteries in Rome.

[113] The *Letter of Pope Agatho to Constantine IV* (*CPG* 9417) at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council names several Greeks among the theologians chosen by him to expound the Western position on the monothelite question (*ACO* ser. 2, 2/1. 57. 6–10). Agatho presents as his legates Abundantius (bishop of Paterno, i.e. Tempsa), John (bishop of Reggio), and John (bishop of Portua), the priests Theodore and George of Rome, with the deacon John and the subdeacon Constantine of Rome (as well as Theodore, legate of the church of Ravenna). On this, see C. Mazzucchi, 'Attività scrittoria calabrese dal VI al IX secolo', in Autori Vari, *Calabria Bizantina: Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale* (Rome: Casa del Libro, 1983), 88.

[114] Alexakis, 26–31, gives a thorough analysis of the florilegia used at the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

Pharan, and Honorius of Rome, on the basis of their works. Even the Roman legates concurred with the anathema pronounced upon the former pope.

Maximus was not mentioned at the Sixth Ecumenical Council, probably to spare imperial embarrassment over his recent condemnation and martyrdom. Nevertheless, the doctrine which he and Pope Martin had worked tirelessly to promote, ultimately at the cost of their lives, was finally vindicated. In their reliance on texts of Scripture, the Fathers, and the church councils, Maximus and his disciples showed their concern to adhere to orthodox tradition, and to avoid any charge of innovation. Particularly in the case of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, however, their authorities were not always unambiguous, and required careful exegesis.[115] The compilation of florilegia from mainly Greek sources has provided a lasting witness to the intellectual strength of their resistance. The monothelite doctrine had a brief revival under the emperor Philippikos Bardanes (711–13) who removed the image of the Council of Constantinople III from the Church of Hagia Sophia, but it was quickly suppressed, and the image restored, by the following emperor, Anastasius II.[116] The orthodox doctrine of two wills in the one person of the incarnate Christ, that is, one human will and one divine, distinct but not contrary to each other (the doctrine upheld by both the Lateran Synod in Rome, and the Sixth Ecumenical Council in the imperial capital), thus became a pillar of union rather than a source of division between the churches of East and West.

IV. THE TEXT TRADITION

Greek Manuscript Tradition[117]

Almost all of the early witnesses to the above texts come from Southern Italy, where they were copied up until the thirteenth century. Calabria, and particularly its mountainous areas, was the

[115] Maximus' role as an interpreter of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite was one of his most significant contributions to the history of Christian thought, according to J. Pelikan, 'Maximus in the History of Christian Thought', in Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 398.

[116] See Duchesne, *LP* 1. 399 = R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), *Life of Gregory II*, 91. 5, 6 and n. 21.

[117] Much of the following material on the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions has appeared in the introduction to the edition of Allen–Neil, pp. xxiii–xxx.

refuge of many Greek monks from Sicily in the tenth and eleventh centuries, fleeing the first wave of invasions by the Arabs, and subsequently the Norman invasions.[118] These monks sought to preserve Byzantine culture by the transcription of Greek manuscripts, many of which have survived. The monastic centres of Reggio di Calabria and Grottoferrata were especially active in the preservation of the Maximian tradition. Early copies of the *DB* are found in codices *Vaticanus graecus 1912* (10th c.), of Calabrian provenance (*A*); *Venetus Marcianus graecus 137* (10th c.) of Italo-Greek provenance (*M*); *Vaticanus graecus 1646* (a. 1118) copied by Nicholas of Reggio (*V*); *Parisinus Coislinianus 267* (12th c.) from Southern Italy (*C*); *Venetus Marcianus graecus 135* (13th c.), from Southern Italy (*R*); *Scorialensis graecus 273* (12th c.) from Southern Italy (*S*); *Vaticanus graecus 2064* (12th c.) from Reggio di Calabria (*W*); and *Vatopedinus 475* (late 13th or early 14th c.) from Mt Athos (*X*). The earliest witnesses to the *Ep. Max.* are *A*, *C*, *M*, *R*, *S*, *V*, and *X*. The *Record* is also found in these same seven early manuscripts. The *Ep. Anas.* survives in only one Greek manuscript (*A*) which also contains an excerpt of the proceedings of the Lateran Synod. The *Comm.* survives in two codices, *Vaticanus graecus 1671* 10th c., which seems to have been copied in the monastery of Grottoferrata (*F*), and in *X*. *CP*, found only in Greek, likewise survives in two manuscripts, *S* and its copy, *C*.

These manuscripts may be divided into two families, the first of which contains two manuscripts (*R* and *X*) deriving from a Constantinopolitan model, and copied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. All the others belong in the second family of Italo-Greek stock, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. One of these, however, the earliest of the Greek witnesses (*A*), contains in its original form a good text of the second family, but has been systematically corrected by a second and even a third hand on the basis of another text-type, one related to the later manuscripts *R* and *X*.

Relationship between the Greek and Latin Texts

The Athonite manuscript *X* seems to approximate most closely to Anastasius' Latin version, and to the model for the corrections of *A*, and may represent the original tradition, before it split onto the

[118] E. Follieri, 'Attività scrittoria calabrese nei secoli X–XI', in *Calabria Bizantina*, 103–32.

South Italian and Constantinopolitan branches. *R* contains a reworked and hagiographicized text, containing numerous gratuitous additions, and changes of word order for no apparent reason. However, a close examination of the text of *R* reveals that, despite the somewhat degenerate copy it represents, it is descended from the same text-type as that from which Anastasius made his translation. The corrector of *A* has not extended his efforts to the *Record*, and thus *A* does not demonstrate the same affinities with Anastasius' Latin as do *RX* in this particular document. The close connection between the Latin and the corrected version of *Vat. grec. 1912* (*A*) has allowed the reconstruction of the Greek text at certain points. Where the corrector of *A* and/or *X* have given a reading that is unique, this has been adopted in the Greek text.

Two of the documents, *DB* and the *Record*, are included verbatim in the third recension of the *Vita Maximi*, of which an edition is currently in preparation. The third recension of the *Vita Maximi* has seventeen witnesses, the earliest dating to the eleventh century.

Latin Manuscript Tradition

Our sole surviving copy of Anastasius' translation of these documents appears in a codex now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. *Parisinus Latinus 5095*, fos. 27ᵛ–58ᵛ (*p*) is a copy made before 895, in or near Laon, of the original of *c.*874. It belonged originally to the collection of the Cathedral School of Laon. The manuscript is described as follows: Parchment, 292 mm. × 230 mm.; 35 ll.; 1 col.; 138 fos. (fo. 2 is blank).

The sources tell us little with regard to the early literary formation of the translator, Anastasius Bibliothecarius. It is clear that he was brought up in Rome with Latin as his mother tongue,[119] but acquired Greek at an early age.[120] He received an exceptional education, probably within a monastery, as public education had disappeared in Rome by the end of the sixth century.[121] Anastasius'

[119] *MGH* 7, *Ep.* 9. 423. 11–12: *ut nec ipsius linguae meae, in qua natus sum, ne dixerim alienae, vim penetrare sufficiam ac per hoc nunquam interpretandi quacunque ratione conamen arripere praesumpsissem.*

[120] *MGH* 7, *Ep.* 17. 440. 8–9, where Anastasius speaks of the Greek *Passion* of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite: *quam Romae legi, cum puer essem.*

[121] P. Riché, 'Education et culture dans l'Italie byzantine', *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare (VIᵉ–VIIIᵉ siècles)*, *Patristica Sorbonensia* 4 (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962), 181–219.

contact with the brothers Constantine-Cyril and Methodius from 867 or 868 would have been valuable for the improvement of his linguistic skills. In his preface to the translation of the glosses of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, he mentions that Constantine-Cyril had committed to memory the codex of ps.-Dionysius' works, and had recounted it to his listeners at the time of his visit to Rome.[122]

Anastasius' career in the Roman curia began when he was created cardinal of S Marcello by Pope Leo IV in 847.[123] Several months later, Anastasius left Rome for reasons which may have had to do with his links with the imperial party in Rome, which supported the eastern Carolingian emperor Lothar and his son Louis II, emperor of Italy, in their opposition to Leo, who had been elected without the approval of the emperor. Anastasius was excommunicated on 16 December 850 by a council in Rome presided over by Pope Leo, and received the anathema on 19 June 854.[124] The anathema was also to apply to 'all those who wanted to offer him any assistance or comfort in—God forbid—his election to the honour of the pontificate'.[125] Throughout this period, Anastasius refused to obey the pope's injunction to return to Rome for trial, and stayed in exile around Aquileia for five years. Upon Leo's death in July 855, Anastasius marched on Rome with an army of supporters, including Arsenius[126] and imperial legates of Louis II, to install himself on the papal throne in contempt of all due processes of election.[127] After only three days as anti-pope, Anastasius was deposed by supporters of the properly elected candidate, Benedict III.[128] He was readmitted to lay communion by Benedict.

Under Benedict's successor Nicholas, the papal candidate chosen by Louis II, and perhaps even in the time of Benedict III, Anastasius was made abbot of the Roman church of S. Maria in

[122] *MGH* 7, *Ep.* 13. 433. 18–21.

[123] The best accounts of Anastasius' chequered career are those of Arnaldi, *Dizionario*, 25–37, and Davis, *LP*, Introduction to the *Life of Leo IV*, 104–5, 250–2 *et passim*.

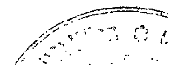
[124] *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 868, 92–4; Nelson, 146–7.

[125] Davis's translation in *LP*, Introduction to the *Life of Leo IV*, 105, of *Annales Bertiniani*, 93.

[126] Arsenius, bishop of Orte (855–68), Anastasius' uncle and the father of Eleutherius, held the office of Roman *apocrisiarius*, established by Louis II, from 848 or 849. Arsenius persuaded Nicholas bishop of Anagni and Mercurius the master of the soldiers to assist him in his scheme to install Anastasius in the pontificate, according to Duschesne *LP* 2. 141 = Davis, *LP*, *Life of Benedict*, 106, chs. 6–7, 169 f.

[127] Duchesne, *LP* 2. 141–3 = Davis, *LP*, *Life of Benedict III*, chs. 8–16. 170–5.

[128] Duschesne, *LP* 2. 143–4 = Davis, *LP*, *Life of Benedict III*, chs. 17–20. 174–7. Also *Annales Bertiniani*, 94, Nelson, 148.



Trastevere[129] and was adopted as Nicholas' unofficial secretary and private adviser. Upon the inauguration of Nicholas' successor Hadrian II on 14 December 867, Anastasius was restored to the priesthood,[130] and soon after was elevated to the official position of *bibliothecarius sanctae romanae ecclesiae*.[131]

The fortunes of the newly appointed papal librarian changed again in 868 when he was accused of complicity in a plot to abduct the pope's wife and daughter. Anastasius' cousin Eleutherius, on the advice of his father Arsenius, abducted Hadrian's daughter, and took the pope's wife Stephania along as a hostage. Having married Hadrian's daughter who was betrothed to someone else, he then killed both her and her mother, apparently at the suggestion of Anastasius.[132] The anathema of 653 was renewed and Anastasius was again deprived of the priesthood on 12 October 868.[133] He seems to have been exonerated from this charge within two years, because we find him addressing his translation of the proceedings of the Eighth Ecumenical Council (869–70)[134] to Pope Hadrian II in 871, under the title of *abbas et summae ac apostolicae vestrae sedis bibliothecarius*.[135] He is also referred to as 'the librarian of the apostolic see' in the Life of Hadrian II at the time of his presence at the final session of the council. He had been sent by Emperor Louis II to arrange a marriage contract between Louis' daughter Ermengarde and Emperor Basil's son Constantine. He may have also used Anastasius in his negotiations with Basil for naval support against the Saracens, whom he had repelled in 847 and 852 near Benevento.

[129] *Ep.* 2, *MGH* 7, 399. 7–8.

[130] Duchesne, *LP* 2. 175 = Davis, *LP*, *Life of Hadrian*, ch. 10. 264. Anastasius was restored at the same time as Zacharias of Anagni, deposed and excommunicated in 863 for trespassing on his assignment at the Council of Constantinople, at which the patriarch Ignatius was condemned by Photius (on the Council of 861, see Duchesne, *LP* 2. 158–9 = Davis, *LP*, *Life of Nicholas*, ch. 40, 222 and 212 n. 37).

[131] *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 868, 92: *Isdem vero Eleutherius, consilio, ut fertur, fratris sui Anastasii, quem bibliothecarium Romanae ecclesiae in exordio ordinationis suae Adrianus constituerat.*

[132] As recorded by Hincmar, *Annales Bertiniani*, 92; Nelson, 145.

[133] *Annales Bertiniani*, 94–6; Nelson, 148–50; testimony against Anastasius was given by his relative Ado (149).

[134] So called in the West, but not recognized as ecumenical by the eastern church because it resulted in the deposition of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. On Anastasius' translations of the Acts of the Seventh and Eighth Ecumenical Councils, see B. Neil, 'The Western Reaction to the Council of Nicaea II', *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 51 (2000), 533–52.

[135] *MGH* 7, 403. 23–4.

On his return, he was sent to Naples on a double diplomatic mission, with a papal and imperial mandate along with Bertarius, abbot of Montecassino.[136] He continued to hold the position of *bibliothecarius* under the following pope, John VIII, presumably up until his death, which occurred probably between 877 and 880.

Description of the Documents[137]

1. Record of the Trial

A record of the first trial of Maximus and his disciple Anastasius in Constantinople in 655, at which Maximus is sentenced to exile in Bizya, and Anastasius to Perberis.

Date and Authorship: It is not possible to give a more precise dating for this trial than the year 655.[138] More specific dates offered by Devreesse and van Dieten have relied on the incorrectly dated *Ep. Max.*[139] The text merely says that the trial began 'several days' after their arrival in Constantinople, for which no precise date is given. The first day of the trial was a Saturday: 'For behold, Roman emissaries arrived yesterday, and tomorrow on Sunday they will communicate with the patriarch.'[140] This seems to refer to the emissaries of Pope Eugenius, who presented themselves to the see of Constantinople soon after the pope's election in August 654. The second day of the trial took place on 'the next Saturday' and the sentence of exile was given by the emperor on the following Sunday. At the end of the *Record*,[141] the author states that, at the time of writing, Maximus and his disciple are still in exile, in Bizya and Perberis respectively, indicating that the text was written before 8 September 856, when Maximus was transferred

[136] Arnaldi, *Dizionario*, 33, and also G. Arnaldi, 'Anastasio Bibliotecario a Napoli nell' 871? Nota sulla tradizione della "Vita Athanasii episcopi Neapolitani" di Guarimpoto', *Cultura* 18 (1980), 3–33, cites the single source for this information: the 9th-cent. *Life of Athanasius* by Guarimpotus, ed. G. Waitz, *Vita Athanasii*, in *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hannover: Hahnsche, 1878), 447. Cf. A. Lapôtre, *L'Europe et le Saint-Siège à l'époque carolingienne* I: *Le pape Jean VIII (872–882)* (Paris: Picard, 1895), repr. in *Études sur la Papauté* 2 (Turin: Erasmo, 1978), 57–437; here 225f.

[137] The following material appears elsewhere in a modified form in Neil, '*Lives*', 94–101, and in Allen–Neil, pp. xv–xxiii.

[138] Cf. Berthold, 28 n. 1: 'This is the first trial of Maximus, which took place in Constantinople in June, 654', following Garrigues, 'Maxime', 414.

[139] Cf. Devreesse, 'La Vie', 29f. which follows Winkelmann, no. 132, 542; van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 108. On the traditional dating of this letter, see pp. 37–8.

[140] *Record* §7.

[141] *Record* §13.

to Rhegium. The existence of two disciples of Maximus, both called Anastasius, accounts for two of the claims made for the authorship of this document, on account of a phrase from the *Life of Maximus* where the author attributes the *Record* to the disciple of the holy man.[142] Devreesse attributed the *Record* to Anastasius the Disciple.[143] Lampe, on the other hand, attributed the *Record* and *DB* of the *Acta Maximi* to Maximus' supporter and fellow-sufferer, Anastasius the Apocrisiarius. The attribution made in the *Life of Maximus* must be treated with caution, until the dating of the second recension and its relationship to the third has been established. Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra, who are connected with the documents *Ep. Anas.* and *Comm.* (nos. 5 and 6 below), were suggested as joint authors of these documents by Garrigues, since they theoretically could have been eye-witnesses to the trial.[144] Bracke rejected all these attributions[145] in favour of the joint authorship of the two documents by Maximus and Anastasius his disciple.

2. Dispute between Maximus and Theodosius of Caesarea Bithynia

An account of the debate between Maximus and Bishop Theodosius, which took place in Bizya in August 656, and a brief account of further discussions held in Rhegium and Selymbria in the following month.

Date and Authorship: The *DB* was written in 656 or 657,[146] that is, shortly after the events took place in August and September 656, while Anastasius Apocrisiarius was in exile in Mesembria, and Maximus and Anastasius his disciple were in Perberis. Two dates given in the text support this dating: 24 August 'of the now-passed fourteenth indiction' and 8 September 'of the current fifteenth indiction'.[147] The last part of the *DB*, the *Third Sentence*, is not included in the Latin, and is also omitted from one of the Greek manuscripts which is closest to the Latin, *Athonensis Vatopedinus 475*. It must be considered as a later addition. Like the *Record*, the *DB* was attributed first to Anastasius the Disciple by Devreesse,[148]

[142] *Recension II*, *PG* 90. 88D5–10.
[143] Devreesse, 'La Vie', 8.
[144] Garrigues, 'Maxime', 414.
[145] Bracke, *Vita*, 132 f., and 136.
[146] Bracke, *Vita*, 138 f.
[147] *Dispute* §2 and §9 respectively.
[148] Devreesse, 'La Vie', 8.

probably on the basis of the *Life of Maximus, Recension II*;[149] then to Anastasius Apocrisiarius by Lampe; and thirdly, to Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra by Garrigues.[150] Bracke rejects all of these in favour of joint authorship by Maximus and Anastasius the Disciple.[151] The redactor of the third recension of the *Life of Maximus* attributes the *DB* to 'the disciple of the holy man'.

3. Letter of Maximus to Anastasius his Disciple

Maximus' letter to Anastasius of 19 April 658 while they were both in exile in Perberis, giving a verbatim account of a discussion between Maximus and representatives of the patriarch, unnamed here but identified as Peter in two recensions of the *Life*.[152]

Date and Authorship: This letter was traditionally dated to May 655 on the basis of Migne's corrupt version of the text,[153] but the date has been correctly established by our edition, which reads μεσοπεντηκοστῇ instead of the corrupt πεντηκοστῇ.[154] The correct Greek reading agrees with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version,[155] allowing us to date the letter to 19 April 658, since Mid-Pentecost fell on 18 April in that year.[156] Bracke claimed that the addressee of the letter was more likely to have been Anastasius Apocrisiarius, then in exile in Mesembria, than Anastasius the Disciple, who was in the same place of exile as Maximus, namely

[149] *PG* 90. 96D8–10. On the relationships between the three recensions of the *Vita Maximi Confessoris*, see B. Neil, 'The Greek *Life* of Maximus the Confessor (BHG 1234) and its Three Recensions', *Studia Patristica* 36 (2001) 46–53.

[150] Garrigues, 'Maxime', 427.

[151] Bracke, *Vita*, 144.

[152] Bracke, *Vita*, 66; Peter was patriarch of Constantinople from June 654 until October 666. This letter is incorporated into *Recension II* as part of the dispute between Maximus and Theodosius bishop of Caesarea Bithynia, and in *Recension I* as following shortly after the first trial recounted in the *Record*.

[153] e.g. Devreesse, 'La Vie', 30: 'Maxime raconte que le 18 du mois, hier écrit-il, jour de la Pentecôte [18 Mai 655] le patriarche Pierre vint vers lui'; cf. Winkelmann, no. 136, 543, dates the interrogation to 16 May. Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 107, also adopts the date of 18 May 655 for the interrogation described in the letter. Pentecost, however, fell on 17 May in 655, leaving these calculations one day out.

[154] See, however, the editorial comment in the Migne edition at *PG* 90. 131–2, n. (a): μεσοπεντῃ. *legit Anastasius (Bibliothecarius) quem et sequor.* (The editor, F. Combefis, has followed the correct reading of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.)

[155] *Heri quod fuit octava decima mensis dies, qua solemnitas agebatur sanctae Mediae Pentecostes* . . . (*CCSG* 39, 160, 2–3 = *PL* 129. 622. B6–7).

[156] So Bracke, *Vita*, 69, and Garrigues, 'Maxime', 22.

Perberis, at the time of writing.[157] However, we have no reason to believe that Maximus was in communication with the Apocrisiarius at this time. The incorrect dating of the letter has also caused some confusion over the dating of the documents to which the letter makes reference. The compromise formula of the patriarch Peter of Constantinople does not survive, but is reported in *Ep. Max.* by the legates of the patriarch: 'We say there are two operations on account of diversity, and one on account of the union.' Given the revised dating of the letter of Maximus, the letter of the patriarch should rather be dated to some time shortly before 19 April 658.[158]

The meaning of the Latin coda at the end of *Ep. Max.* is obscured by its layout in *Parisinus latinus 5095*, where it appears on the next line after the name 'Anastasius' as follows:

Haec iussit mihi transcribere et nota facere sanctissimis uobis, quo et ex his motione comperta, communem . . . afferatis Domino precem.

Bracke, Garrigues, and Winkelmann have nominated Maximus Confessor as the subject of this sentence, translating it as: 'He [Maximus] ordered me [Anastasius the Disciple][159] to transcribe this and send it to you,' and have claimed that the addressees (*sanctissimis uobis*) were the monks of Cagliari, the addressees of the following letter of Anastasius. However, we think it more likely that the subject is the Anastasius from the previous line, who ordered the compiler of these documents to make a copy of Maximus' letter to Anastasius for the edification of others. There is some similarity of phrasing in the epilogue of the *Commemoratio* which is part of the *Acts of Pope Martin*, pointing to the possible authorship of Theodore Spoudaeus.[160]

157 Bracke, *Vita*, 159.

158 Grumel, *Regestes*, 233, no. 305, dates the patriarch's warning letter to Maximus to 'mai 658, avant le 18', following A. Jülicher, *Berichtigung, Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden A. von Harnack: zum siebzigsten Geburstag dargebracht* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1921), 130–1. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft* 2 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), 780 and Winkelmann, no. 134, 543, incorrectly date the letter to May 655, following Devreesse, 'La Vie', 29 f., on the basis of their dating of the interrogation to that same month

159 Bracke, *Vita*, 159, suggests that the recipient is more likely to be Anastasius Apocrisiarius, but admits that this cannot be proven from the manuscripts. Anastasius is described as Ἀναστάσιον μονάζοντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητήν in the title to the *Ep. Max.* (*monachum discipulum suum* in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version).

160 See Neil, '*Lives*', 104 f.

4. Letter of Anastasius to the Monks of Cagliari

A letter of Anastasius (the disciple or Apocrisiarius?) to the monks of Cagliari, seeking their help and offering encouragement in their continued resistance to the monothelite party.

Date and Authorship: This letter, written by Anastasius the monk and disciple of Maximus, and addressed to the monks of Cagliari, exists only in the Latin version of *Parisinus latinus 5095*, fos. 34–5. The identity of its author has not been established with certainty, given that 'Anastasius the monk and disciple' (*Anastasius monachus et discipulus*) could refer to either of the two disciples of Maximus who bore that name. However, authorship is traditionally ascribed to Anastasius the Monk, rather than the other Anastasius, who elsewhere always bears the epithet 'Apocrisiarius'.[161]

In the *Collectanea* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, this letter is found immediately following the letter of Maximus to his disciple Anastasius the Monk (*CPG* 7701). The coda of that letter, which likewise exists only in Latin, seemed to the editor of the *PL* to introduce this letter to the monks of Cagliari, whereas Sirmond placed it, correctly as it seems, adjoining the previous letter. A reference to Maximus' trial (*ex his motione comperta*) identifies this coda with the account in Maximus' letter of his examination by the patriarchal emissaries on 18 April 658. Although the syntax gives rise to ambiguity, Winkelmann and Bracke[162] interpreted the coda to mean that Maximus had ordered Anastasius to transcribe his letter (*Haec iussit mihi transcribere*) for others to read. Thus they concluded that Anastasius attached a copy of Maximus' letter (in Greek) to his own letter to the monks of Cagliari.[163] While this explanation is possible, it seems more likely that Anastasius is the subject of the exhortation, and the compiler of the documents pertaining to Maximus' life is the object (*mihi*), as we have argued in a recent article.[164]

Little is known of the existence of Greek monks in Cagliari in the period to which this letter dates (that is, after 19 April 658, the date of Maximus' letter to his disciple Anastasius),[165] with the

[161] Cf. Bracke, *Vita*, 79–85, in support of the argument for attribution to Anastasius Apocrisiarius.

[162] Winkelmann, no. 137, 543; Bracke, *Vita*, 79 ff.

[163] See van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 108–9.

[164] Neil, '*Lives*', 97

[165] Cf. Winkelmann, no. 137, 543.

exception of Deusdedit, bishop of Cagliari, who was, in spite of his Latinate name, a prominent Greek figure at the Lateran Synod of 649 in Rome.[166]

Of the two Migne editions, *PL* 129. 623–6 more closely resembles Sirmond's edition which is quite faithful to the original, and contains fewer innovations than the 'improved' text of Combefis (*PG* 90. 133–6).

5. Letter of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius to Theodosius of Gangra

A letter by Anastasius Apocrisiarius, accompanied by *Testimonia* attributed to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus Romanus, and *Syllogisms*, probably from the hand of Anastasius.

Date and Authorship: The prologue, which survives only in the Latin version, has been added by an unknown party, possibly the recipient of the letter, Theodosius of Gangra, or his brother, Theodore Spoudaeus.[167] Anastasius composed this letter during his last year of exile in Lazica, before his death on 11 October 666,[168] but it did not reach its addressee Theodosius until August 668. Both the Latin translation and the Greek text date the death of Anastasius the Disciple to 22 or 24 July 662 (cf. the *Comm.* which only gives the latter date). The Latin supplies a description of Maximus' death on 13 August 662, which has not survived in the Greek, as well as an account of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius' trials in exile in Lazica and Abasgia from 662, and of the visit he received from Stephen, son of the priest John the cimiliarch of the Church of the Holy Anastasis. Anastasius records Stephen's death as occurring on 1 January 665 'of the eighth indiction which had passed', thus providing the *terminus post quem* of his own letter, that is, September 665. The scholion recording the death of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius on 11 October 666 survives in both the Greek and its Latin translation.

The *Testimonia* and *Syllogisms* which are appended to the letter in the *Parisinus Latinus 5095* (fos. 48^r–51^v) bear the linguistic stamp of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, although he himself attributed the *Testimonia* to Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus Romanus in the late second and early third centuries. Anastasius' account of their

[166] See P. Conte, *Il Sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649*, *Collezione Teologica* 3 (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989), 162 and *passim*.

[167] As suggested in Neil, '*Lives*', 100

[168] See Devreesse, 'La lettre', 8 n. 1, and 9.

origins should be treated with caution: he informed Theodosius of Gangra (*Ep. Anas.* 264/8) that these eight extracts from the *Sermon of Hippolytus against the heretics Beron and Helicon* (*CPG* 1916) were all that he managed to copy before the whole work was snatched from him by imperial officers in Constantinople. Winkelmann's attribution of the so-called 'extracts'[169] to the Apocrisiarius himself seems most likely, given their anti-monothelite content and convoluted style. The *Testimonia* and *Syllogisms* have not been included in this volume because their content is syllogistic rather than biographical. The Greek version of the text does not appear in any of the manuscripts containing the other documents translated in this volume.[170] These two texts will be edited at a later date.

6. Commemoration

A commemoration of the trials in exile of Pope Martin I, Maximus the Confessor, Anastasius the Disciple, Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, Theodore, and Euprepius, all martyrs for the dyothelite cause.

Date and Authorship: The *Comm.* was written soon after the *Ep. Anas.* was received in August 668. The author refers to 'us, the truly lowly Theodosius [of Gangra] and Theodore [Spoudaeus]'.[171] Devreesse has established that Theodore was the more likely author, following the attribution in the Greek prologue of the work to a certain Theodore, who made a record of events for 'this holy assembly'.[172] Devreesse suggests that this 'holy assembly' may refer to the association of Spoudaei in Constantinople, who were probably descendants of the fifth-century association of the same name first established in Constantinople by John Chrysostom to

[169] See Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, Introd., p. lxxxvii n. 3; Winkelmann, no. 126, 541.

[170] The eight extracts of the *Testimonia* have survived in at least two Greek codices, *Bodleianus Miscell. 184* (12th c.) and *Parisinus graecus 1144* (15th c.), which have been edited by Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, ch. 44. 321–6; see also his Introduction, p. xlviii, on their spurious attribution to Hippolytus, the late second-/early third-century bishop of Portus Romanus. Another manuscript, now lost, from the collection of Francescus Turrianus, was edited by Sirmond together with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin translation in his edition of the *Collectanea*, as noted in its introduction, p. vi.

[171] 'The sacred letter on this subject was handed over to us, the truly lowly Theodosius and Theodore, legitimate and genuine brothers, both humble and sinful monks' (*Comm.* §10).

[172] *ὡς Θεόδωρός τις μαθητεύσας τῇ θείᾳ ὁμηγύρει ταύτῃ συγγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο ἔχουσαν οὕτως* (*Comm.* §3), cited by Devreesse, 'Hypomnesticon', 50, as the reason for rejecting his original suggestion of Theodosius of Gangra as its author.

combat the Arian threat.[173] The brothers have also been associated, on the basis of less convincing evidence, with the church of the Holy Anastasis, in either Jerusalem or Constantinople.[174]

The Greek version has a different title from the Latin, and its prologue is drawn largely from Theophanes.[175] It describes the death of Constans in Sicily, followed by a few lines introducing the death in exile of Maximus, the two Anastasii and Martin. The Latin introduction is quite different, and Devreesse claims it must be the invention of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[176] Since we have no other examples of Anastasius adding significantly to the works he is translating, and because the Latin bears all the signs of being a translation from Greek, we do not believe this to be the case. Theodore (or a compiler) seems to be the most likely candidate for authorship of this prologue, and also for the Latin coda, not edited by Sirmond:

The commemorations give an account of the holy ones: Pope Martin, Maximus the monk, his disciples Anastasius and Anastasius, and the brothers Euprepius and Theodore.[177]

The author of the Latin prologue refers to 'the letter of Anastasius

[173] Devreesse, 'Hypomnesticon', 64 n. 2. On the associations of Spoudaei, see S. Pétridès, 'Les Spoudaei de Jérusalem et de Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient* 7 (1904), 341–8.

[174] J.-M. Garrigues, 'Le sens de la primauté romaine chez saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Istina* 21 (1976), 6–24 (here, 15) expresses the opinion that Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodore of Gangra were inhabitants of Jerusalem, on the basis of a reference to 'the holy city of our Christ' in the Latin prologue to Anastasius' letter to Theodosius: *ad Theodosium presbyterum Gangrensem, et monachum in sancta Christi nostri civitate constitutum* (*Ep. Anas.* §1). Garrigues goes further in 'Maxime', 447 n. 76, where he claims that the numerous allusions to (the church of) the Anastasis that we find in the writings of the brothers Theodore and Theodosius show that the congregation of Spoudaei to which they claim to belong is that of Jerusalem, attached to the Anastasis. J. Noret, in his recent article 'À qui était destinée la lettre *BHG* 1233d d'Anastase Apocrisiaire?', *AB* 118 (2000), 37–42, examines the evidence for locating the community of the Anastasis in Jerusalem rather than in Constantinople, as Devreessse assumed to be the case in 'La lettre', 7 n. 4. However, the allusions to which Garrigues and Noret refer do not personally connect the brothers with that church. Theodore at least must belong to the congregation of Hagia Sophia, if the title of the *Narrationes de exilio sancti Papae Martini* is accurate: *Ex his quae a Theodoro Spudeo sanctae Sophiae scripta sunt*. . . (*PL* 129. 586 D1–2).

[175] C. de Boor, *Theophanes Chronographia* 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885, repr. New York: Georg Olms, 1980), 351 f. It has received an excellent translation by C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 490 f.

[176] Devreesse, 'Hypomnesticon', 59, n.3.

[177] *Parisinus latinus* 5095, fo. 58^v: *Expliciunt commemorationes de sanctis papa Martino et Maximo monacho seu Anastasio itemque Anastasio discipulis eius, atque Euprepio et Theodoro Germanis* (*Comm.* §11).

attached here', indicating that the *Comm.* was appended to the *Ep. Anas.*

7. Against the People of Constantinople

A later piece of invective against the imperial monothelite party, written by an anonymous supporter of Maximus.

Date and Authorship: This vitriolic document was written after the trial of Maximus and the two Anastasii in 662,[178] and contains a number of *hapaxlegomena* and rare words. If it was not composed by Anastasius Apocrisiarius, it could stem from the same circle of monks engaged in compiling anti-monothelite material, who were possibly also the authors of the *Doctrina Patrum*.[179]

V. NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

In translating these documents, we have tried to live up to Théry's dictum: 'Le vrai rôle du critique, qui suppose ce long commerce de sympathie avec l'objet de son étude, est de percevoir ces paroles intérieures et de les rendres sensibles à ceux qu'un labeur trop précipité empêcherait d'entendre.'[180] This requires that the critical translator find the delicate balance between a rendition of the text that is so pedestrian that it makes insufficient allowance for English idiom, and a version so free that accuracy is sacrificed. The task is made even more difficult by the fact that we can only offer, for one and a half documents, a translation of the Latin translation, and that the original Greek itself was often less than clear in its expression. However, the Greek, with all its faults, often makes better sense than Anastasius' Latin, and for this reason, we have relied upon the Greek text wherever it is available. Our primary objective was to provide a readable text. That being said, the limitations of both the Greek and the Latin have left their mark on the English version, and for that we ask for the reader's forbearance. The *Letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra* presented a particular challenge, with its turgid style and frequent anacolutha,

[178] Winkelmann, no. 152, gives no suggestion as to the date of the piece.

[179] The earliest form of the work has been dated by its editor Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, p. lxxix, to some time between 662 (the year of Maximus' death) and the opening of the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680.

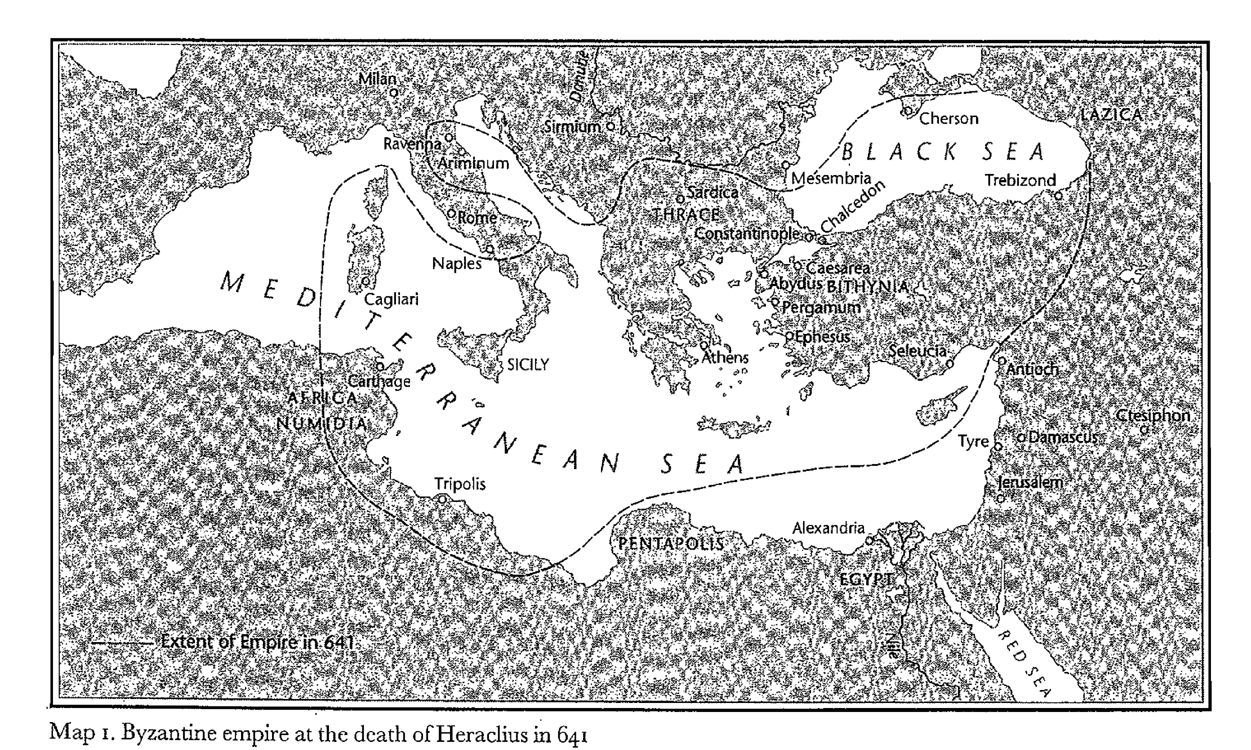
[180] G. Théry, 'Scot Érigène, traducteur de Denys', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 6 (1931), 185.

which have resulted in long sentences that run on for up to half a page. We have attempted to break these up where possible, but have often had to retain the unwieldy syntactic structures of the original in order to preserve the sense. The convoluted theological phrases of the *Letter of Anastasius to the Monks of Cagliari* also proved very difficult to render idiomatically, and with no Greek to which to refer, we have had to make the best of a text full of lacunae and opaque expressions. The author of the *Commemoration* himself apologises for the roughness of his language, and the translation can be no more refined than the original, whose interminable sentences are, as Devreesse put it, 'enchevêtrées sans aucun souci d'élégance ou même de correction.'[181] Devreesse rightly notes that these faults have been aggravated by the manuscript tradition, and that Anastasius has not tried to remedy them in his translation.[182] The final document, *Against the Constantinopolitans*, was perhaps the most difficult of the Greek texts to translate, containing so many *hapaxlegomena* piled one upon the other, with the result that the intensity of the author's contempt for his adversaries makes far greater impact than his rhetorical style.

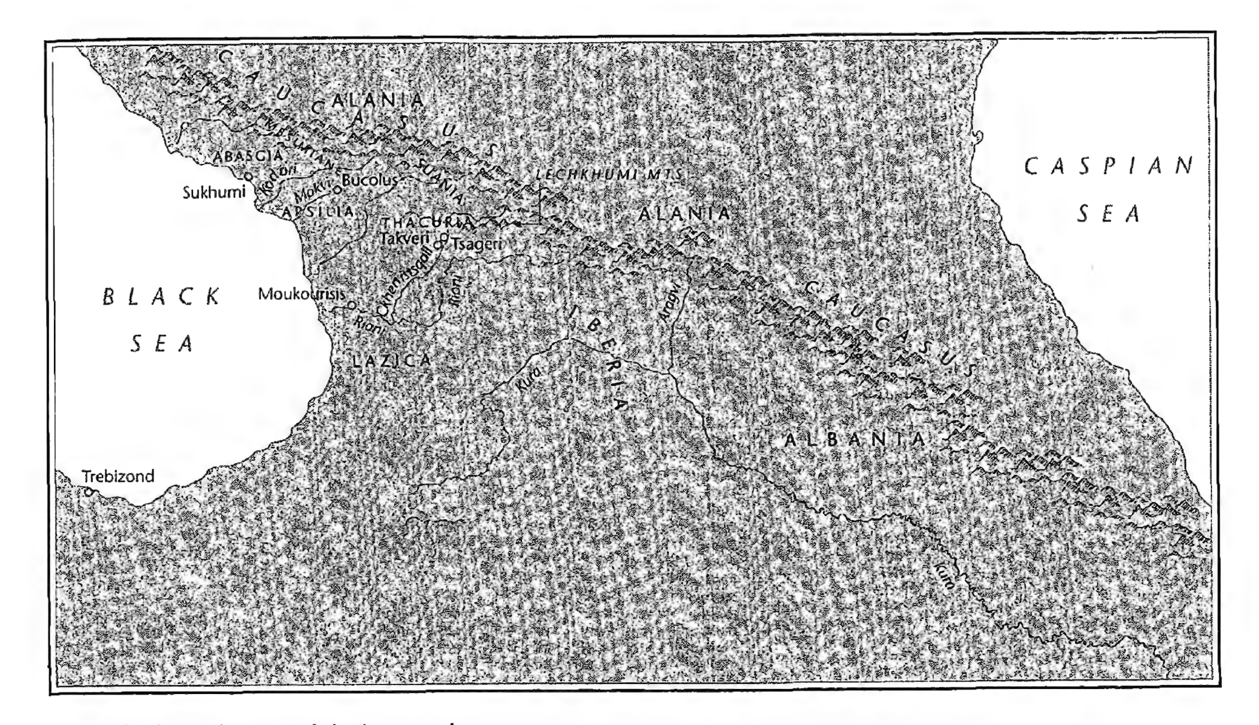
The Greek and Latin texts are reproduced from our own edition: square brackets mark a word or letter that should be deleted, e.g. [poeta]; pointed brackets signal an insertion, e.g. ⟨poeta⟩; obelisks mark passages where Latin or Greek is unclear and cannot be restored, e.g. †poeta†.

In the English translation words that have been added for the sake of clarity are marked with square brackets as usual; pointed brackets mark the translation of a word that has been supplied in the Greek or Latin text, e.g. ⟨poet⟩.

[181] Devreesse, 'Hypomnesticon', 65. [182] ibid.



Map 1. Byzantine empire at the death of Heraclius in 641
(Reprinted with alterations, from R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 16 by kind permission of the publisher.)



Map 2. Lazica and surrounds in the seventh century
(Revised version of P. Allen and B. Neil (eds.) with J. Noret, *CCSG* 39 (Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols, 1999), Introduction,

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

RELATIO MOTIONIS
(*CPG* 7736)

Ἐξήγησις τῆς γενομένης κινήσεως μεταξὺ τοῦ κυροῦ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ σεκρέτου.

§1. *Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ προσωρμίσθησαν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει ὅ τε κῦρις Μάξιμος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, περὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου ἐλθόντες δύο μανδάτορες μετὰ δέκα ἐκσκουβιτόρων, ἐπῆραν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀνυποδέτους· καὶ μερίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐφύλαξαν εἰς διάφορα ἐκσκούβητα. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀναφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ εἰσάγουσι τὸν γέροντα, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ συνήχθη ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ πολὺς ἄλλος ὄχλος· καὶ παριστῶσιν αὐτὸν μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων καθημένων, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σακελλάριος· "Χριστιανὸς εἶ;" μετ' ὀργῆς πολλῆς καὶ μανίας.*

Καὶ λέγει· "Χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, Χριστιανός εἰμι."

Καὶ λέγει ἐκεῖνος· "Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθές."

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Σὺ λέγεις οὐκ εἰμί· ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς λέγει εἶναί με καὶ διαμένειν Χριστιανόν."

"Καὶ πῶς," φησίν, "εἴπερ Χριστιανὸς εἶ, μισεῖς τὸν βασιλέα;"

Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος ἔφη· "Καὶ πόθεν δῆλον; τὸ γὰρ μῖσος ψυχῆς ἐστι κεκρυμμένη διάθεσις, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη."

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Ἐξ ὧν ἐποίησας, πᾶσιν ἐγένου φανερὸς ὅτι μισεῖς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ· σὺ γὰρ μόνος Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Πεντάπολιν καὶ Τρίπολιν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν Σαρακηνοῖς παραδέδωκας."

"Καὶ τίς ἡ τούτων ἀπόδειξις;" ἔφη.

Καὶ παραφέρουσιν Ἰωάννην τὸν γενόμενον σακελλάριον Πέτρου τοῦ γενομένου στρατηγοῦ Νουμηδίας τῆς Ἀφρικῆς λέγοντα ὅτι "Πρὸ εἰκοσιδύο ἐτῶν ὁ πάππος τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μακαρίῳ Πέτρῳ λαβεῖν στρατὸν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατὰ

Witnesses: *RXAMSp*

RECORD OF THE TRIAL
(*CPG* 7736)

An account of the process which took place between lord Father Maximus and his companions, and the officials in the privy chamber.[1]

§1. On the day when both lord Maximus and his companions anchored at this royal city, around sunset two commissioners[2] came with ten palace guards,[3] and took them off the ship without clothing or shoes. And after separating them from one another they put them under guard in different guard-houses. And after some days they brought them up to the palace, and led in the old man to the place where the senate had assembled and a great crowd besides. And they made him stand in the midst of the officials, who were seated, and the finance minister[4] said to him with great anger and frenzy: 'Are you a Christian?'

And he said: 'By the grace of Christ, God of all, I am a Christian.'

And the finance minister said: 'That's not true.'

The servant of God answered: 'You say I'm not, but God says that I am, and will remain a Christian.'

'And how,' he said, 'if you are a Christian, can you hate the emperor?'

The servant of God said in reply: 'And what's the evidence for that? After all, hatred is a hidden disposition of the soul, just as love is too.'

And he said to him: 'From what you have done it has become clear to everyone that you hate the emperor and his empire. I say this because single-handedly you betrayed Egypt, Alexandria, Pentapolis, Tripolis and Africa to the Saracens.'

'And what's the proof of those charges?' he said.

And they produced John, the former finance minister of Peter, the former general of Numidia in Africa,[5] who said: 'Twenty-two years ago the emperor's grandfather[6] ordered blessed Peter to take an army and go off to Egypt against the Saracens, and he wrote to you, as if he were speaking to a servant of God, having confidence in you as a holy

τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, καὶ ἔγραψέν σοι ὡς πρὸς δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ λαλῶν, πληροφορίαν ἔχων εἰς σὲ ὡς εἰς ἅγιον ἄνθρωπον, εἰ συμβουλεύεις αὐτῷ ἀπελθεῖν. Καὶ ἀντέγραψας αὐτῷ λέγων μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ὁ Θεός, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ συμπραχθῆναι τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων."

Λέγει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ· "Ἐὰν ἀληθεύει, πάντως ἔχει καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ Πέτρου, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν· παρενεχθῶσιν, καὶ ὑπόκειμαι ταῖς δοκούσαις τῷ νόμῳ ποιναῖς."

Καὶ λέγει· "Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλ' οὔτε οἶδα, εἰ ὅλως ἔγραψέν σοι. Ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ ταῦτα κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐλάλουν πάντες τὸν καιρόν."

Λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Εἰ τὸ φοσσάτον ὅλον τοῦτο διελάλει, πῶς σὺ μόνος τοῦτο συκοφαντεῖς με; Ἐθεώρησάς με ποτὲ ἢ ἐγὼ σέ;"

Καὶ λέγει· "Οὐδέποτε."

Τότε στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος εἶπεν· "Εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν τοιούτους παρακομίζεσθαι κατηγόρους ἢ μάρτυρας, κρίνατε· Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε, κριθήσεσθε· καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, μετρηθήσεσθε,[a] φησὶν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός."

§2. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον φέρουσιν Σέργιον τὸν Μαγουδὰν λέγοντα· "Πρὸ ἐννέα ἐτῶν ὁ μακάριος ἀββᾶς Θωμᾶς ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἶπέν μοι ὅτι Ὁ πάπας Θεόδωρος ἔπεμψέν με πρὸς τὸν πατρίκιον Γρηγόριον, ἵνα εἴπω αὐτῷ μὴ φοβηθῆναί τινα. Ὁ γὰρ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος ἐθεώρησεν ὄναρ, ὅτι κατ' οὐρανοὺς εἰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ δυσμὰς ἦσαν δῆμοι ἀγγέλων· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀνατολὰς ἔκραζον· Κωνσταντῖνε Αὔγουστε, τοῦ βίγκας· οἱ δὲ εἰς δυσμὰς ἐβόων· Γρηγόριε Αὔγουστε, τοῦ βίγκας· καὶ ὑπερήχησεν ἡ φωνὴ τῶν εἰς δυσμάς, τὴν τῶν εἰς ἀνατολὴν φωνήν."

Καὶ τότε κράζει ὁ σακελλάριος· "Ἔπεμψέν σε ὁ Θεὸς καυθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην."

Λέγει ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ καθαίροντί με τῶν ἑκουσίων μου κακῶν δι' ἀκουσίου κολάσεως· πλήν, Οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα· οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται.[b] Ὄντως οὐκ ἔδει τοιαῦτα λαλεῖσθαι παρουσίᾳ Χριστιανῶν, οὐδὲ ἀτιμωρήτους μένειν τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πλάττοντας πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσαι ἀνθρώποις, σήμερον οὖσιν, καὶ αὔριον οὐκ οὖσιν.[c] Ταῦτα ζῶντος Γρηγορίου ἔδει τοῦτον

[a] Matt. 7: 2 [b] Matt. 18. 7 [c] Cf. Sir. 10: 10

person, [to enquire] if you counselled him to set off. And you wrote back to him saying he should do nothing of the sort, because God did not approve lending aid to the Roman empire during the reign of Heraclius and his kin.'[7]

The servant of God said: 'If you're speaking the truth, of course you have both Peter's letter to me, and mine to him. Let them be produced, and I'll submit to the punishments decreed by the law.'[8]

And he said: 'I don't have the letter, nor do I know if he wrote to you at all. But everyone in the camp at that time was speaking of these matters.'

The servant of God said to him: 'If the entire camp was discussing that matter, how is it that you're the only one to calumniate me? Have you ever seen me, or I you?'

And he said: 'Never.'

Then, turning to the senate, the servant of God said: 'You must judge whether it's just to have such accusers or witnesses brought forward. "*For by the judgement you judge, you shall be judged, and by the measure that you measure, it shall be measured unto you,*" said the Lord of all.'

§2. And after him they brought in Sergius Magoudas,[9] who said: 'Nine years ago the blessed Father Thomas, who had come from Rome, said to me: "Pope Theodore sent me to the patrician Gregory to tell him not to be afraid of anybody. I mean that the servant of God, Father Maximus, had a vision in his sleep that in the heavens to the East and West there were crowds of angels. And the angels in the East shouted: 'Constantine Augustus, you shall conquer,' whereas the angels in the West exclaimed: 'Gregory Augustus, you shall conquer.' And the voices of those in the West prevailed over those in the East." '[10]

And at that point the finance minister shouted: 'God has sent you to this city to be burnt.'

The servant of God said: 'I give thanks to God who cleanses me of my voluntary sins by means of involuntary chastisement. But *woe to the world because of scandals. For it is necessary that scandals come, but woe to the man through whom scandal comes.* Such matters should really not have been spoken about in the presence of Christians, nor should those people go unpunished who fabricate such matters to gratify human beings, who are here today and gone tomorrow. He should have made these accusations while Gregory was alive, and made known to the emperor his good will towards him. The just thing to do, if it commends itself to you as well, is to make my former calumniator go out

εἰπεῖν, καὶ γνωρίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν. Δίκαιον δέ ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ ὑμῖν παρίσταται, τὸν πρὸ τούτου συκοφάντην ἐκβιβασθῆναι ἀπελθεῖν ἐνέγκαι τὸν πατρίκιον Πέτρον, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀββᾶν Θωμᾶν, κἀκεῖνον τὸν μακάριον πάπαν Θεόδωρον· καὶ τότε παρουσίᾳ πάντων, ἔλεγον τῷ πατρικίῳ Πέτρῳ· Εἰπέ, κῦρι ὁ πατρίκιος, ἔγραψάς μοι ποτὲ περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ σὸς σακελλάριος ἢ ἐγὼ σοί; Καὶ ὅταν κατέθετο, ὑπὸ κόλασιν ἐγινόμην. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ πάπᾳ· Εἰπέ, δέσποτα, ἐγώ σοι ποτὲ ὄναρ ἀφηγησάμην; Καὶ ὅταν ἤλεγξέν με, ἐκείνου ἦν τὸ ἔγκλημα, οὐκ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἑωρακότος. Ἀπροαίρετον γὰρ πρᾶγμα τὸ ὄναρ· μόνα δὲ τὰ προαιρετικὰ κολάζει ὁ νόμος, εἴπερ αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦνται."

Τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Τρωΐλος· "Παίζεις, ἀββᾶ, οὐκ οἶδας ποῦ εἶ;"

Ὁ δέ· "Οὐ παίζω, ἀλλὰ πενθῶ τὴν ζωήν μου συντηρηθεῖσαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ἵνα τοιούτων λάβω πεῖραν φασμάτων."

Καὶ λέγει ὁ κῦρις Ἐπιφάνιος· "Ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκει, καλῶς ποιεῖ παίζων αὐτά, ἐὰν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀληθῆ."

Μεθ' ὃν ὁ σακελλάριος πάλιν μετ' ὀργῆς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἁπλῶς πάντες ψεύδονται, καὶ σὺ μόνος ἀληθεύεις;"

Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος, συνδακρύσας τῷ λόγῳ· "Ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ζωῶσαι καὶ θανατῶσαι· πλὴν ἐὰν οὗτοι ἀληθεύουσιν, καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς φύσει Θεός ἐστιν. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ οὗτοι ἠλήθευσαν. Μήτε γὰρ ἀξιωθῶ μετὰ Χριστιανῶν θεωρῆσαι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ ὑπερουσίου Θεοῦ, ποιητοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ, καὶ κτίστου, καὶ προνοητοῦ, καὶ κριτοῦ, καὶ Σωτῆρος τῶν ὅλων, εἰ ποτὲ ὄναρ τοιοῦτον ἐθεασάμην, ἢ ἄλλου ἀφηγουμένου ἤκουσα, εἰ μὴ τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Σεργίου τοῦ εὐνοϊκοῦ τῆς βασιλείας."

§3. *Εἶτα τρίτον συκοφάντην προβάλλονται, Θεόδωρον τὸν υἱὸν Ἰωάννου τοῦ κανδιδάτου γενομένου, τὸ ἐπίκλην Χιλά, τὸν νῦν γαμβρὸν τοῦ κυροῦ Πλάτωνος τοῦ πατρικίου, λέγοντα ὅτι "Συντυχίας μεταξὺ ἡμῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένης περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, διέσυρεν τὸ λαλούμενον, μυττία ποιῶν καὶ λαιμία."*

Πρὸς ὃν εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Οὐδέποτε διελέχθην σοι, εἰ μὴ ἅπαξ μετὰ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου πρεσβυτέρου κυροῦ Θεοχαρίστου, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐξάρχου, διὰ τὸν πριμικήριον, προτραπεὶς διὰ γραμμάτων περὶ τούτου. Καὶ ἐὰν εὑρεθῶ ψευδόμενος, ἀπολάβω."

and bring in Peter the patrician, and Peter should bring in Father Thomas, and Thomas should bring in blessed Pope Theodore. And then, in the presence of everyone, I would say to Peter the patrician: "Tell me, lord patrician, did you ever write to me on the matters your finance minister alleges, or I to you?" And if he should say yes, I would submit to chastisement. Similarly too with the blessed pope: "Tell me, master, did I ever recount to you a dream of mine?" And if he should prove me guilty, his would be the crime, not mine who [am supposed] to have seen it. After all, a dream is something which is not under the control of the will. The law punishes only actions which are under the control of the will, if, that is, they are done in defiance of it.'

Then Troilus said to him: 'You're teasing us, Father. Don't you know where you are?'

He said: 'I'm not teasing you; rather, I am regretting that my life should have been spared up to the present, so that I experience monstrosities like these.'

And the lord Epiphanius said: 'God knows, he is doing the right thing in teasing us about these matters if they aren't true.'

After him the finance minister said with great anger to Maximus again: 'Is it really the case that everyone's telling lies and you're the only one telling the truth?'

And the servant of God said to him in reply, weeping as he spoke: 'With God's permission, you have the power over both life and death. However, if these people are telling the truth, then it's Satan who's really God. But if he isn't, as indeed he's not, these people haven't told the truth either. Nor may I be worthy to see in the company of Christians the manifestation of the supersubstantial God, who is both maker and demiurge, creator, provider, judge, and Saviour of all, if I ever had a dream of this kind or heard another person recount it, except at this present time by lord Sergius, who is well disposed to the empire.'

§3. Then they produced a third accuser, Theodore, the son of John the former subaltern,[11] whose surname was Chila, who is now the son-in-law[12] of the lord patrician Plato,[13] who said: 'In a conversation that took place between us in Rome on the subject of the emperor, he ridiculed what was said, making sounds of contempt and derision.'[14]

The servant of God said to him: 'I have never conversed with you except once, with the most holy lord presbyter Theocharistos, the brother of the exarch,[15] through the primicerius,[16] when I was

§4. *Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον, τέταρτον ἄγουσιν Γρηγόριον τὸν υἱὸν Φωτεινοῦ λέγοντα ὅτι "Ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου ἐν Ῥώμῃ, κἀμοῦ εἰπόντος, ὅτι καὶ ἱερεύς ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεύς, εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀναστάσιος ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ· Μὴ ἀξιωθῇ εἶναι ἱερεύς."*

Καὶ εὐθέως λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Φοβήθητι τὸν Θεόν, κῦρι Γρηγόριε, οὐδὲν παντελῶς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαλέξει λελάληκεν ὁ σύνδουλός μου." Καὶ ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν, λέγων τῇ συγκλήτῳ· "Ἀνάσχεσθε τοῦ δούλου ὑμῶν, καὶ πάντα λέγω ὡς ἐλαλήθη, καὶ ἐλέγξει με ἐὰν ψεύσομαι. Ὁ κύριός μου οὗτος Γρηγόριος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἠξίωσεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ δούλου ὑμῶν· ὃν ἰδών, ὡς ἔθος μοι ἐστίν, ἔρριψα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ προσεκύνησα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἠσπασάμην αὐτόν, καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ καθίσαι· Τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς ποθητῆς παρουσίας τοῦ δεσπότου μου; Καὶ εἶπεν· Ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ θεοστήρικτος ἡμῶν δεσπότης, φροντίζων τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐποίησεν κέλευσιν πρὸς τὸν θεοτίμητον πάπαν, πέμψας καὶ προσφορὰν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον, προτρεπόμενος αὐτὸν ἑνωθῆναι τῷ προέδρῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· ἅπερ πεμφθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος κατηξίωσεν τὸ εὐσεβὲς αὐτοῦ κράτος. Καὶ εἶπον· Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντί σε ἄξιον τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας. Πλὴν ἐπὶ ποίῳ τρόπῳ γενέσθαι τὴν ἕνωσιν ἡ αὐτοῦ θεοστεφὴς ἐκέλευσεν γαλήνη εἴπερ οἶδας. Καὶ εἶπας· Ἐπὶ τῷ Τύπῳ. Καὶ ἔφην· Ἀδύνατον, ὡς οἶμαι, τοῦτο καθέστηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχονται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συναναιρεθῆναι ταῖς τῶν ἀκαθάρτων αἱρετικῶν φωναῖς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων φωτοφόρους φωνάς, ἢ τῷ ψεύδει συναποσβεσθῆναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἢ τῷ σκότει συναφανισθῆναι τὸ φῶς. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ προσκυνούμενον, εἰ γένηται τῶν θεοδιδάκτων λόγων ἀναίρεσις. Καὶ εἶπας· Οὐκ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ Τύπος ποιεῖται φωνῶν, ἀλλὰ σιωπήν, ἵνα τὴν εἰρήνην οἰκονομήσωμεν. Καὶ εἶπον· Ἔστι παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ σιωπὴ καὶ ἀναίρεσις. Ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ εἶπε διὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδ· Οὐκ εἰσὶν λαλιαί, οὐδὲ λόγοι, ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.[d] *Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ λαλοῦνται καὶ ἀκούονται οἱ περὶ Θεοῦ λόγοι, οὐδὲ ὅλως εἰσὶ κατὰ τὴν Γραφήν. Καὶ εἶπας· Μὴ βάλῃς με εἰς ὕλας· ἐγὼ ἀρκοῦμαι τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ. Καὶ πῶς δύνασαι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι συμβόλῳ, ἔφην, δεχόμενος τὸν Τύπον; Καὶ τί βλάπτει τὸ δέχεσθαι τὸν Τύπον, καὶ λέγειν τὸ σύμβολον; ἔφης. Λέγω· Ὅτι προφανῶς ἀναιρεῖ τὸ σύμβολον ὁ Τύπος. Καὶ εἶπας· Πῶς διὰ τὸν Κύριον;*

[d] Ps. 18: 4

enjoined by letter to do this. And if I'm found to be lying, I'll take what's coming.'

§4. And after him, they brought a fourth person, Gregory the son of Photinus,[17] who said: 'I went to Father Maximus' cell in Rome, and, when I said that the emperor was a priest too, Father Anastasius, his disciple, said: "He shouldn't be considered a priest."'

And straight away the servant of God said to him: 'Fear God, lord Gregory, my fellow servant said nothing at all during the discussion on matters like these.' And he threw himself on the ground, saying to the senate: 'Bear with your servant and I'll tell you everything as it was said, and he will convict me if I lie. When my lord Gregory came to Rome, he deigned to come to your servant's cell. When I saw him, as is my custom, I threw myself down on the ground and welcomed him respectfully. And I kissed him and said to him after we had sat down: "What is the reason for the welcome arrival of my master?" And he said: "Our good master, who is established in God, in his care for the peace of God's holy churches, has issued an order to the pope, who is honoured by God, sending an offering as well to St Peter, urging him to be united with the president of Constantinople.[18] His orthodox Majesty deigned that this order be sent through my mediocrity." And I said: "Glory to God who made you worthy to perform such a service. Only [tell me] if you know, on what terms His divinely crowned Serenity has ordered the union to come about." And you said: "On the terms of the *Typos*."[19] And I said: "This, in my opinion, is an impossible situation, for the Romans won't allow the illuminating statements of the holy Fathers to be annulled simultaneously with the expressions of impure heretics, or the truth to be snuffed out simultaneously with falsehood, or the light to perish simultaneously with darkness. I mean that there will be nothing for us to worship if the sayings taught by God are annulled." And you said: "The *Typos* won't cause the annulment of the sacred expressions, but silence, so that we may arrange peace." And I said: "According to divine Scripture, silence is also annulment. For God said through David: '*There is no speech, nor are there words, whose sounds are not heard.*' Therefore, unless the words concerning God are spoken and heard, they don't exist at all, according to Scripture." And you said: "Don't make matters more difficult for me[20]—I'm satisfied with the holy creed." "And how," I said, "can you be satisfied with the holy creed if you have accepted the *Typos*?" "And what harm is there in accepting the *Typos* and saying the creed?" you asked. I said: "Obviously the

Εἴπωμεν ἔφην, τὸ σύμβολον, καὶ γνῶθι πῶς ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ Τύπου. Καὶ ἤρξω τοῦ λέγειν· Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς· ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Ἐπίσχες, εἶπον, μικρόν, καὶ μάθε πῶς ἡ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστις ἤρνηται. Ποιητὴς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη Θεός, θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας φυσικῆς ἐστερημένος, εἴπερ θελήσας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἴπερ ἀληθεύει λέγων ἐν Πνεύματι Δαυΐδ· Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσοις.[c] *Εἰ δὲ οἰκονομίας χάριν συναναιρεῖται τῇ κακοπιστίᾳ ἡ σωτήριος πίστις, χωρισμὸς Θεοῦ παντελής, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ἕνωσις ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος τῆς λεγομένης οἰκονομίας. Αὔριον γὰρ καὶ οἱ δυσώνυμοι Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσιν· Οἰκονομήσωμεν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην, καὶ ἑνωθῶμεν, καὶ περιέλωμεν ἡμεῖς μὲν τὴν περιτομήν, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ μηκέτι ἀλλήλους πολεμήσωμεν. Τοῦτο καὶ Ἀρειανοὶ ποτὲ προέτειναν ἐγγράφως ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου λέγοντες· Περιέλωμεν τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ τὸ ἑτεροούσιον, καὶ ἑνωθῶσιν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι. Καὶ οὐ κατεδέξαντο οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' εἵλαντο μᾶλλον διώκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ σιωπῆσαι φωνὴν παραστατικὴν τῆς μιᾶς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπερουσίου θεότητος, καὶ ταῦτα συνεπιτιθεμένου τοῖς ταῦτα προτείνουσι τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, καθὼς πολλοῖς ἱστόρηται τοῖς φιλοπόνως τὰ τότε γενόμενα γράψασιν. Καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν βασιλέων ἠδυνήθη μέσαις φωναῖς πεῖσαι τοὺς θεηγόρους πατέρας συμβιβασθῆναι τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν αἱρετίζουσιν· ἀλλὰ ταῖς τραναῖς καὶ κυρίαις, καὶ καταλλήλοις τῷ ζητουμένῳ δόγματι ἐκέχρηντο, λέγοντες προφανῶς ὅτι ἱερέων ἐστὶ τὸ ζητεῖν καὶ ὁρίζεσθαι περὶ τῶν σωτηρίων δογμάτων τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ εἶπας· Τί οὖν; Οὐκ ἔστι πᾶς βασιλεὺς Χριστιανὸς καὶ ἱερεύς; Καὶ εἶπον· Οὐκ ἔστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ παρίσταται θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τοῦ ἄρτου ὑψοῖ αὐτὸν λέγων· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. Οὔτε βαπτίζει, οὔτε μύρου τελετὴν ἐπιτελεῖ, οὔτε χειροθετεῖ, καὶ ποιεῖ ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους· οὔτε χρίει ναούς, οὔτε τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπιφέρεται, τὸ ὠμοφόριον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὥσπερ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὴν ἁλουργίδα. Καὶ εἶπας· Πῶς ἡ Γραφὴ βασιλέα καὶ ἱερέα λέγει εἶναι τὸν Μελχισεδέκ; Καὶ εἶπον· Ἑνὸς τοῦ φύσει βασιλέως τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ γενομένου φύσει διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν ἀρχιερέως, εἷς*

[c] Ps. 134: 6

Typos annuls the creed." And you said: "By the Lord, how?" "Let us recite the creed," I said, "and you must know how it is annulled by the *Typos*." And you began to recite it: "*I believe in one God, Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things both seen and unseen.*"[21] "Wait a moment," I said, "and learn how the faith of those in Nicaea is repudiated. I mean that God wouldn't be a maker were he deprived of a natural will and activity, if he made heaven and earth by an act of will and not through compulsion, if what David says in the Spirit is true: '*Whatever the Lord willed, he did in heaven and on earth, in the seas and in all the deeps.*' But if the saving faith should be annulled simultaneously with erroneous belief for the sake of an arrangement, this kind of so-called arrangement is a complete separation from God and not a union. I mean that tomorrow the hateful Jews will also begin to say: 'Let's arrange a peace with one another, and unite, and let us remove circumcision and you baptism, and we won't fight with each other any more.' This is what the Arians too once proposed in writing at the time of Constantine the Great, when they said: 'Let's remove the words "homoousion" and "heteroousion" and let the churches unite.'[22] Our God-bearing Fathers didn't accept this; instead they chose to be persecuted and to die rather than pass over in silence an expression which indicated the one supersubstantial godhead of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And Constantine the Great concurred with those who had made these proposals, as has been recorded by many who diligently wrote about the events of that time.[23] No emperor was able to persuade the Fathers who speak of God to be reconciled with the heretics of their times by means of equivocal expressions. Instead they employed clear and authoritative expressions, and ones that corresponded to the teaching that was being inquired into, saying plainly that it is the mark of priests to make an inquiry and to define on the subject of the saving teachings of the catholic church." And you said: "Well then, isn't every Christian emperor also a priest?" And I said: "No, he isn't, because he neither stands beside the altar, and after the consecration of the bread elevates it with the words: '*Holy things for the holy*';[24] nor does he baptize, nor perform the rite of anointing, nor does he ordain and make bishops and presbyters and deacons; nor does he anoint churches,[25] nor does he wear the symbols of the priesthood, the pallium and the Gospel book, as [he wears the symbols] of imperial office, the crown and purple." And you said: "How is it that Scripture says that Melchisedek was king and priest?" And I said: "Melchisedek was a single type[26] of the one who was king by nature, God of all

ὑπῆρχεν τύπος ὁ Μελχισεδέκ. Ὡς εἴ γε κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδὲκ[f] *ἕτερον λέγεις εἶναι βασιλέα καὶ ἱερέα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τόλμησον εἰπεῖν, τὸ ἀπάτορα, ἀμήτορα, ἀγενεαλόγητον, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν, μήτε τέλος ζωῆς ἔχοντα,*[g] *καὶ σκόπει τὸ ἐκ τούτου ἀναφυόμενον κακόν· ἄλλος γὰρ εὑρεθήσεται Θεὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐνανθρωπήσας, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ,*[h] *ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν τὴν ἡμῶν ἱερουργῶν σωτηρίαν. Πλήν, τί θέλομεν διὰ πολλῶν ἐλθεῖν; Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχιερέας καὶ ἱερέας καὶ διακόνους καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἱερατικὸν τάγμα, μετὰ τῶν λαϊκῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς μνημονεύονται, λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου. Καὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων λαϊκῶν, Κωνσταντίνου, Κώνσταντος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ζώντων μνημονεύει βασιλέων, μετὰ τοὺς ἱερωμένους πάντας."*

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, κράζει ὁ Μηνᾶς· "Ταῦτα λέγων ἔσχισας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν."

Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Εἰ ὁ λέγων τὰ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων σχίζει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ ἀναιρῶν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων δόγματα, τί δειχθήσεται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι δυνατόν;"

Καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ σακελλάριος εἶπεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ ἐξάρχου μετὰ κραυγῆς· "Εἴπατε τῷ ἐξάρχῳ· Τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον ὤφειλες ἐᾶσαι ζῆν ὅπου ἄρχεις;"

§5. *Καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔξω, εἰσάγουσι τὸν μαθητήν, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες αὐτὸν κατειπεῖν τοῦ ἐπιστάτου ὡς θλίψαντος Πύρρον, ἀπεκρίνατο ἠρεμαίᾳ τῇ φωνῇ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅτι "Οὐδεὶς ἐτίμησεν Πύρρον ὡς ἐτίμησεν ὁ ἐπιστάτης μου." Καὶ κελεύεται κράξαι. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ κατεδέξατο τῆς πρεπούσης μοναχοῖς εὐλαβοῦς φωνῆς ξενωθῆναι, κελεύει τυπτηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παρεστώτων· καὶ πυγμαῖς αὐτὸν βαλόντες, ἡμιθανῆ πεποιήκασιν. Καὶ ἀπολυθέντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεσμωτήρια, καταλαμβάνει τὸν γέροντα ὁ Μηνᾶς, λέγων παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων· "Ἔβαλέν σε ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἤγαγέν σε ὧδε, ἵνα ἀπολάβῃς ὅσα εἰς ἄλλους ἐποίησας, πλανῶν πάντας εἰς τὰ Ὠριγένους δόγματα."*

Πρὸς ὃν εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος παρουσίᾳ πάντων· "Ἀνάθεμα Ὠριγένει καὶ τοῖς δόγμασιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντὶ σύμφρονι αὐτοῦ."

Καὶ λέγει ὁ πατρίκιος Ἐπιφάνιος· "Ἐλύθη, κῦρι ἀββᾶ Μηνᾶ, ὁ κατ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπαγόμενος ψόγος· ἵνα καὶ ἦν Ὠριγενιαστής, ἐπὰν ἀνεθεμάτισεν, τῆς τοιαύτης ἑαυτὸν ἠλευθέρωσε μέμψεως.

[f] Heb. 5: 6 [g] Heb. 7: 3 [h] Heb. 5: 6

things, who became by nature a high-priest on account of our salvation. Since you say that there is another person who is king and priest *according to the order of Melchisedek*, you must also be bold enough to say the rest—that he is *without father, without mother, without genealogy, without beginning to his days, nor end to his life.* And observe the evil that grows out of this idea—another such person will be found who is God incarnate *according to the order of Melchisedek*, but not according to the order of Aaron, to work out our salvation. But why do we want to enumerate many points: during the holy anaphora at the holy table, after the high-priests and priests and deacons and the whole clerical rank, the emperors are remembered with the laity when the deacon says: '*And the lay-people who have fallen asleep in faith, Constantine, Constans, and the others.*'[27] Thus he remembers the living emperors as well, after all the clergy." '

While he was saying this, Menas[28] shouted: 'By making these statements you have split the church.'

And he said to him: 'If the one who states what is in Scripture and the holy Fathers splits the church, what will the person who annuls the teachings of saints be shown to do to the church, without which [sc. teachings] the church's very existence is impossible?'

And turning around, the finance minister shouted to the exarch's people: 'Say to the exarch: "Should you have allowed a person like this to live where you rule?"'

§5. And when they had taken him outside, they brought in his disciple, and when they demanded that he denounce his superior on the grounds that he had distressed Pyrrhus, he answered in a soft voice what was true: 'Nobody honoured Pyrrhus as my superior did.' And he was ordered to speak up. And because he didn't consent to be deprived of the respectful way of talking that is fitting for monks, he ordered him to be beaten by those standing by; and by punching him they rendered him half-dead. And when they had been dismissed to the prisons, Menas laid hold of the old man, saying in the presence of the officials: 'God has struck you and brought you here so that you might accept the consequences of what you did to others, when you led everyone into the error of the teachings of Origen.'[29]

The servant of God said to him in the presence of everyone: 'Anathema on Origen and his teachings, and on everyone of the same mind as himself.'

And the patrician Epiphanius said: 'The censure adduced by you against him, lord Father Menas, has come to an end, such that, even

Ἐγὼ τέως οὐκ ἔτι τοιοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον παραδέχομαι·" Καὶ ἀπηνέχθη ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ παρεφυλάττετο τόπῳ.

§6. *Καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τὴν ἀφὴν τοῦ λύχνου, Τρωΐλος ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ Σέργιος ὁ Εὐκρατᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς βασιλικῆς παρεγένοντο πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν γέροντα, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐκέλευσαν καὶ αὐτὸν καθίσαι, καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· "Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, κῦρι ἀββᾶ, τὴν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ Πύρρου γενομένην ἐν Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Ῥώμῃ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων κίνησιν· καὶ ποίοις αὐτὸν ἔπεισας λόγοις ἀναθεματίσαι τὸ δόγμα τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ τῷ σῷ συνθέσθαι."*

Καὶ ἀφηγήσατο αὐτοῖς πάντα καθεξῆς, ὅσα ἡ μνήμη ἀνέσωσεν. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι "Ἐγὼ δόγμα ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς καθολικῆς. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκίνησα φωνὴν τὴν οἱανοῦν, ἵνα ἴδιόν μου λέγεται δόγμα."

Καὶ μετὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀφήγησιν λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Οὐ κοινωνεῖς τῷ θρόνῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως;"

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Οὐ κοινωνῶ."

"Διὰ ποίαν οὐ κοινωνεῖς αἰτίαν;" εἶπον.

Ἀπεκρίθη· "Ὅτι τὰς ἁγίας τέσσαρας συνόδους ἐξέβαλον διὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γεναμένων ἐννέα κεφαλαίων· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει γενομένης παρὰ Σεργίου Ἐκθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐκτεθέντος Τύπου· καὶ ὅτι ἅπερ ἐδογμάτισαν διὰ τῶν κεφαλαίων, διὰ τῆς Ἐκθέσεως κατέκριναν· καὶ ἅπερ ἐδογμάτισαν διὰ τῆς Ἐκθέσεως, διὰ τοῦ Τύπου ἠκύρωσαν· καὶ καθεῖλαν ἑαυτοὺς τοσαυτάκις. Οἱ τοίνυν ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν κατακριθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ἰνδικτιῶνος γενομένης συνόδου καθαιρεθέντες, καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης γυμνωθέντες, ποίαν ἐπιτελοῦσι μυσταγωγίαν· ἢ ποῖον πνεῦμα τοῖς παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτελουμένοις ἐπιφοιτᾷ;"

Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Τί οὖν; Σὺ μόνος σώζῃ, καὶ πάντες ἀπόλλυνται;"

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Οὐδένα κατέκριναν οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες μὴ προσκυνήσαντες τῇ εἰκόνι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων προσκυνούντων. Οὐ γὰρ ἐσκόπουν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ μὴ ἐκπέσωσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας.[1] *Οὕτω καὶ Δανιὴλ βληθεὶς εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων, οὐ κατέκρινε τινὰ τῶν μὴ προσευξαμένων τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ θέσπισμα Δαρείου, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἐσκόπησεν· καὶ εἵλατο ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ μὴ παραπεσεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας*

[1] Cf. Dan. 3: 18

if he were an Origenist, he freed himself from a charge like that when he pronounced the anathema. From now on I won't have a charge of that nature made about him any longer.' And each one of them was led away to the place where they were kept under guard.

§6. And on the same day about nightfall, Troilus the patrician and Sergius Eucratas,[30] the one in charge of the royal table,[31] came to the old man, the servant of God, and when they had sat down they ordered him, too, to sit, and said to him: 'Tell us, lord Father, about the doctrinal dispute which took place between you and Pyrrhus in Africa and Rome, and what words you used to convince him to anathematise his own teaching and to agree to yours.'

And he recounted to them in order everything that his memory had stored up. And he said this: 'I don't have a teaching of my own, but the common one of the catholic church. I mean that I haven't initiated any expression at all that could be called my own teaching.'

And at the end of his entire account they said to him: 'Aren't you in communion with the throne of Constantinople?'[32]

And he said: 'No, I'm not.'

'What's the reason that you're not in communion?' they asked.

He answered: 'They rejected the four holy synods through the *Nine Chapters* which came into being in Alexandria,[33] and through the *Ekthesis* which came into being in this city by Sergius,[34] and through the *Typos* which was published recently in the sixth indiction.[35] What they proclaimed as teaching through the *Chapters*, they condemned through the *Ekthesis*; and what they proclaimed as teaching through the *Ekthesis*, they cancelled through the *Typos*; and they condemned themselves as many times.[36] Those, therefore, who passed judgement on themselves and the Romans and were condemned subsequently at the synod which took place in the eighth indiction,[37] and were stripped of the priesthood—what kind of liturgy can they celebrate, or what kind of Spirit can come upon [liturgies] celebrated by such people?'

And they said to him: 'How can you say that? Is it the case that you're the only one who'll be saved, and everyone [else] will be lost?'

And he said: 'The three boys didn't pass judgement on anyone when they didn't adore the idol, while all [other] people did. I mean that they didn't examine the affairs of others, but they examined the question how they personally shouldn't lapse from true religious observance. Similarly, too, when Daniel was thrown into the lions' den he didn't pass judgement on anyone who hadn't prayed to God

μαστιγωθῆναι συνειδήσεως ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν φύσει νομίμων.[j] *Κἀμοὶ οὖν μὴ δῴ ὁ Θεὸς κατακρῖναι τινά, ἢ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐγὼ μόνος σώζομαι. Ὅσον δὲ δύναμαι, αἱροῦμαι ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ θρόησιν ἔχειν κατὰ τὸ συνειδός, ὅτι περὶ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν πίστιν παρεσφάλην καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον."*

§7. *Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Καὶ τί ἔχεις ποιῆσαι, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἑνουμένων τοῖς Βυζαντίοις; Ἰδοὺ γὰρ χθὲς ἦλθον οἱ ἀποκρισιάριοι Ῥώμης, καὶ αὔριον τῇ κυριακῇ κοινωνοῦσι τῷ πατριάρχῃ· καὶ πᾶσι δῆλον γίνεται ὅτι σὺ διέστρεφες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ἀμέλει σοῦ ἐπαρθέντος ἐκεῖθεν, συνέθεντο τοῖς ἐνταῦθα."*

Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· "Οἱ ἐλθόντες, οἱονδήποτε πρόκριμα τῷ θρόνῳ Ῥώμης, κἂν κοινωνήσωσιν, ἐπὰν οὐκ ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην ἐπιστολήν, οὐ ποιοῦσιν· καὶ οὐ πείθομαι ποτὲ ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἑνοῦνται τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν καθ' ἑκατέραν τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἅπέρ ἐστιν, εἶναι φύσει θελητικόν τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὸν τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας."

Καὶ λέγουσιν· "Εἰ δὲ συμβιβασθῶσιν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τί ποιεῖς;"

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καὶ ἀγγέλους ἀναθεματίζει παρὰ τὸ κήρυγμά τι καινοτομοῦντας."[k]

Καὶ λέγουσιν· "Πάντως ἀνάγκη ἐστίν, θελήσεις λέγεσθαι ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐνεργείας;"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "Πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, εἴπερ εὐσεβεῖν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θέλομεν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων χωρὶς ἐνεργείας φυσικῆς ὑφέστηκεν. Οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι πατέρες φανερῶς λέγουσιν μήτε εἶναι μήτε γινώσκεσθαι χωρὶς τῆς οὐσιώδους αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν οἱανδήποτε φύσιν. Εἰ δὲ οὔτε ἐστίν, οὔτε γινώσκεται φύσις ἄνευ τῆς αὐτὴν οὐσιωδῶς χαρακτηριζούσης ἐνεργείας, πῶς εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ γνωρίζεσθαι Θεὸν ἀληθῶς φύσει καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐστὶν δυνατόν; Ἀπολέσας γάρ, κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας, τὸ βρυχικὸν ὁ λέων, οὐκ ἔτι λέων· καὶ τὸ ὑλακτικὸν ὁ κύων, οὐκ ἔτι κύων. Καὶ ἄλλο τὸ οἱονοῦν τὸ φυσικῶς αὐτοῦ συστατικὸν ἀπολέσαν, οὐκ ἔτι ἔστιν ὅπερ ἦν."

Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Οἴδαμεν ὄντως ὅτι οὕτως ἐστί, πλὴν μὴ λυπήσῃς τὸν βασιλέα, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ μόνον ποιήσαντα τὸν Τύπον, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τινὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ νοουμένων, ἀλλ'

[j] Cf. Dan. 6: 16 [k] Cf. Gal. 1: 8

in accordance with the decree of Darius, but he examined his own conduct. And he chose to die and not to backslide from God, and to be flayed by his own conscience in the matter of the transgression of the natural law. May God then grant me too not to pass judgement on anyone or to declare that I'm the only one who's saved. To the best of my ability I'll choose to die rather than have on my conscience the worry that in some way or other I have suffered a lapse with regard to belief in God.'

§7. They said to him: 'And what will you be in a position to do, should the Romans be united with the Byzantines? Look, after all, the *apocrisiarii* came from Rome yesterday,[38] and they will communicate with the patriarch tomorrow, Sunday—it will become clear to everyone that it was you who turned the Romans away. Doubtless with you removed from here, they will agree with the Byzantines.'

And he said to them: 'Those who have come won't prejudice the see of Rome in any way, even if they do communicate, because they haven't brought a letter to the patriarch.[39] And I'll never be convinced that the Romans will be united with the Byzantines, unless they confess that our Lord and God by nature wills and works our salvation according to each [of the natures] from which he is, and in which he is, as well as which he is.'

And they said: 'But if the Romans should come to terms with the Byzantines, what will you do?'

And he said: 'The Holy Spirit, through the apostle, condemns even angels who innovate in some way contrary to what is preached.'

And they said: 'Is it altogether necessary to speak of wills and activities on the subject of Christ?'

He replied: 'Altogether necessary, if we want to worship in truth, for no being exists without natural activity. I mean that the holy Fathers say plainly that it is impossible for any nature at all to exist or be recognised apart from its essential activity.[40] And if a nature can neither exist nor be known apart from the activity which characterizes it according to substance, how is it possible for Christ to exist or be known as truly God and human being by nature? After all, according to the Fathers, the lion that loses its roar is no longer a lion, and if the dog loses its bark, it's no longer a dog.[41] And anything else that loses what is naturally constitutive of it is no longer what it was.'

And they said to him: 'We actually know that this is so. But don't distress the emperor, who issued the *Typos* for the sake of peace and that alone, not because he wanted to destroy any of those things

ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ τὴν σιωπὴν τῶν ποιουσῶν τὴν διάστασιν φωνῶν οἰκονομοῦντα."

Καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος εἰς τὴν γῆν μετὰ δακρύων εἶπεν· "Οὐκ ὤφειλεν λυπηθῆναι ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐσεβὴς δεσπότης κατὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως. Οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι λυπῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν σιωπῶν ἅπερ αὐτὸς λαλεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμολογεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ θέμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους,[l] *δῆλον ἐστὶν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ τούτων λαλήσας. Διὰ πάσης οὖν τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς, τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων διδασκάλων καὶ συνόδων διδασκόμεθα, θελητικόν τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὸν θεότητί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι, τὸν σαρκωθέντα Θεόν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ τῶν οἷς ὡς Θεὸς γινώσκεται, ἢ τῶν οἷς ὡς ἄνθρωπος φύσει γνωρίζεται χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*[m] *ἐστὶν ἐλλιπής. Εἰ δὲ τέλειός ἐστι καθ' ἑκάτερον, ὡς οὐδενὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐλλιπής, προφανῶς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὅλον νοθεύει μυστήριον ὁ μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι ὅπέρ ἐστιν, μετὰ τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκάτερον, τῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἅπέρ ἐστιν, πάντων φυσικῶν ἰδιωμάτων."*

§8. *Καὶ μικρὸν σιωπήσαντες, καὶ ἀλλήλοις προσνεύσαντες λέγουσιν· "Πόθεν δύνασαι δεῖξαι, ὅτι τὰς συνόδους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως;"*

Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· "Ἤδη δέδεικται μερικῶς, διὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ λαληθέντων παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κῦριν Γρηγόριον τὸν ἀσηκρῆτις· καὶ νῦν εἰ παρίσταται τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦτο δειχθήσεσθαι, κελεύσει δοθῆναι ἄδειαν τῷ ἀναξίῳ ὑμῶν δούλῳ, καὶ ποιῶ γνῶσιν βιβλίων, ὅτι τὰ ἐμὰ ἀφῃρέθησαν, καὶ πᾶσι φανερὸν ποιῶ τοῦτο, χωρὶς οἱασδήποτε σκολιότητος λόγων."

Καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλων πολλῶν λαληθέντων, εἰς γραφικὰς καὶ φυσικὰς καὶ τεχνικὰς ἐτράπησαν γυμνασίας τε καὶ θεωρίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἡδυνθέντες, ἱλαρωτέρως διετέθησαν· καὶ ἤρξαντο λέγειν· "Οἶδεν ὁ Κύριος ὠφελήθημεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ὀχλεῖν ὑμῖν ἔχομεν."

§9. *Ὁ δὲ κῦρις Σέργιος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι "Πολλάκις ἦλθον εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου εἰς Βέββας, καὶ ἠκροασάμην τῆς διδασκαλίας σου· καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει βοηθῆσαί σοι· καὶ μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς. Εἰς ἓν δὲ μόνον*

[l] 1 Cor. 12: 28 [m] Heb. 4: 15

apprehended spiritually on the subject of Christ, but because, with an eye to peace, he was arranging for the silencing of the expressions which were causing the dissension.'

And throwing himself on the ground, the servant of God said tearfully: 'The good and orthodox[42] master shouldn't be distressed by my lowliness. I say this because I cannot distress God by keeping silent about what he himself ordered to be said and confessed. For if, according to the divine apostle, he is the one *who founded in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers,* it's clear that he is the one who spoke through them. Throughout all of holy Scripture, therefore, both the Old and the New Testaments, and also throughout the holy teachers and synods, we are taught that the incarnate God both wills and works in both his divinity and his humanity. For he lacks none of those things in which he is recognised as God, or of those things in which he is known by nature as a human being, *except sin.* If he is complete according to each, in that he is not lacking in anything with respect to either, obviously the person who doesn't confess him to be what he is, with all the natural properties which belong to him according to each (both those from which, in which, and which he is), is adulterating the whole mystery concerning Christ.'

§8. And after being silent for a while, they said while nodding to each other: 'How are you able to show that those in charge of the see of Constantinople rejected the synods?'

And he said to them: 'It's already been shown in part from what I said in Rome to the lord Gregory the secretary.[43] And now if it pleases the master for it to be shown, he will give an order that permission be given to your unworthy servant, and I shall make a list of books (because mine have been confiscated), and I'll make this plain to everyone without any verbal riddles.'

And subsequently, when many other matters had been discussed, they turned both arguments and thoughts to Scripture, nature, and grammar. They enjoyed these discussions, and their attitude became more cheerful. And they began to say: 'The Lord knows that we have obtained spiritual profit, and from now on we won't importune you.'

§9. Lord Sergius said to him: 'Often I went to your cell in Bebbas[44] and listened to your teaching. God will come to your aid. Don't be anxious. There's only one point on which you distress everyone, namely that you're causing many people to be separated from the communion of the church here.'

λυπεῖς πάντας, ὅτι πολλοὺς ποιεῖς χωρισθῆναι τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησίας."

"*Ἔστι τίς ὁ λέγων,*" *εἶπεν ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ,* "*ὅτι εἶπον· 'Μὴ κοινωνήσῃς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Βυζαντίων';*"

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ κύρις Σέργιος· "*Αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ σὲ μὴ κοινωνεῖν, μεγάλη πρὸς πάντας ἐστὶ φωνὴ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι.*"

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "*Οὐδὲν βιαιότερον συνειδότος κατηγοροῦντος, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου συνηγοροῦντος παρρησιαστικώτερον.*"

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ κῦρις Τρωΐλος ὅτι ὁ Τύπος ἀναθεματίζεται εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν δύσιν, λέγει πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ· "*Καλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἡ ὑπόληψις ὑβρίζεται;*"

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "*Ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσει τοῖς ἐκβιβάσασιν τὸν δεσπότην ποιῆσαι τὸν Τύπον καὶ τοῖς συγχωρήσασιν.*"

Καὶ λέγει· "*Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκβιβάσαντες, καὶ τίνες οἱ συγχωρήσαντες;*"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "*Οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεβίβασαν, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνεχώρησαν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ῥύπος ἐκ τῶν ὑπευθύνων εἰς τὸν ἀθῶον καὶ καθαρὸν πάσης αἱρέσεως ἐξετινάχθη. Ἀλλὰ συμβουλεύσατε ποιῆσαι ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ γενόμενος αὐτοῦ πάππος. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι ψόγον αὐτοῦ τινὲς κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καταχέουσιν, διὰ κελεύσεως ἐλεύθερον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέμψεως, γράψας ὅτι 'Ἡ Ἔκθεσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑπηγόρευσα, ἢ ἐκέλευσα γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ Σέργιος αὐτὴν ὁ πατριάρχης συντάξας πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἐδεήθη μου κατὰ ταύτην γενομένου τὴν πανευδαίμονα πόλιν, ὀνόματί μου προτεθῆναι αὐτὴν μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς· καὶ κατεδεξάμην τὴν ἐκείνου παράκλησιν. Νῦν δὲ γνοὺς ὅτι τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διαμάχονται, πᾶσι δῆλον ποιῶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή.' Ταύτην ἐποιήσατο τὴν κέλευσιν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὸν πάπαν, κατακρίνοντα τὴν Ἔκθεσιν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Πύρρον τότε γραφεῖσιν. Καὶ ἔκτοτε Σεργίου χρηματίζει πανταχοῦ εἶναι ἡ Ἔκθεσις. Τοῦτο ποιήσει καὶ ὁ νῦν εὐσεβῶς βασιλεύων ἡμῶν, καὶ μένει παντελῶς ἄχραντος πάσης μέμψεως ἡ πρόληψις αὐτοῦ.*"

Τότε σείσαντες τὰς κεφαλάς, ἐσιώπησαν, τοῦτο μόνον εἰρηκότες· "*Ὅλα δυσχερῆ καὶ ἀνέκβατα.*"

Τούτων καὶ ἑτέρων διαφόρων λαληθέντων, προσκυνηθέντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, μετὰ πάσης ἱλαρότητος ἀνεχώρησαν.

'Is there anyone,' said the servant of God, 'who claims that I said: "Don't communicate with the church of the Byzantines"?'

Lord Sergius answered: 'The very fact that you're not in communion is a great argument for everyone not to be in communion.'

And the servant of God said: 'There's nothing more compelling than an accusing conscience, and nothing more outspoken than a supporting one.'

Lord Troilus, on hearing that the *Typos* was anathematized throughout the entire West, said to the servant of God: 'Is it a good thing that the reputation of our orthodox master suffer outrage?'

The servant of God answered: 'May God forgive those who caused the master to issue the *Typos* and those who allowed it.'

And he said: 'Who are the ones who caused [him to issue it] and who are the ones who allowed it?'

He answered: 'The ecclesiastical officials caused [him to do it] and the state officials allowed it. Look at how the filth from those responsible has spread out over the one who is innocent and pure of any heresy. But advise him to do what his late grandfather did, [who is kept] in orthodox memory: on becoming aware that some people in the West were heaping blame on him, he freed himself of any censure from the church through a decree which he composed:[45] "The *Ekthesis* is not mine, for I neither dictated it nor ordered its composition. But the patriarch Sergius, who composed it five years before my return from the East,[46] requested me on my return to that all-fortunate city that it be published in my name with my signature. And I acceded to his demand. Now, however, knowing that some people are in dispute over it, I am making it clear to everyone that it is not mine." He issued this decree to the blessed Pope John, who had condemned the *Ekthesis* at the time when he wrote to Pyrrhus.[47] And from that time on the *Ekthesis* was called everywhere the work of Sergius. Let the one who now rules over us in an orthodox manner do this too, and his reputation will remain completely undefiled by any censure.'

Then, shaking their heads, they became silent, saying only this: 'The whole problem is difficult and insoluble.'

After these and other different matters had been discussed, they exchange obeisances and left very cheerfully.

§10. *Καὶ πάλιν τῷ ἄλλῳ σαββάτῳ, ἀνήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ· καὶ εἰσφέρουσιν πρῶτον τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ γέροντος, συνελθόντων τότε καὶ τῶν δύο πατριαρχῶν· καὶ ἄγουσιν Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Μηνᾶν κατηγόρους τοῦ γέροντος, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντας τὸν μαθητὴν συγκαταθέσθαι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις. Μετὰ δὲ πάσης τῆς παρρησίας εἶπεν ὁ μαθητὴς ἀφόβως πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον· "Κωνσταντῖνον εἰσάγετε ἐν σεκρέτῳ παλατίου; Οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε πρεσβύτερος, οὔτε μοναχός, ἀλλὰ τριβοῦνος θυμέλης. Ἐγνωρίσθη Ἄφροις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ποῖα γύναια βόσκων ἦλθεν ἐκεῖσε. Πάντες ἔμαθον τὰς πανουργίας αὐτοῦ, ἃς ἐποίησεν πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν, ποτὲ μὲν λέγων ὅτι ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν, ποτὲ δὲ ὅτι 'Διὰ τὸ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπῆρα αὐτάς, ἵνα μὴ χρανθῶσιν τῇ αἱρετικῇ κοινωνίᾳ.' Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν λείψῃ αὐτῷ σπατάλη, καὶ εὕρῃ χώραν μὴ γνωρίζουσαν αὐτόν, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ, αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν, καὶ ῥυπαρᾶς ἡδονῆς. Καὶ μεγάλη αἰσχύνη ἐστὶν τὸ κἂν συντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ, τοῖς σεμνῶς βιῶναι θέλουσιν." Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ τὸν Τύπον ἀνεθεμάτισεν, ἀφόβως εἶπεν· "Οὐ μόνον ἀνεθεμάτισα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίβελλον ἐποίησα."*

"Τί οὖν; Οὐχ' ὁμολογεῖς πεποιηκέναι κακῶς;" λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες.

Καὶ λέγει· "Μὴ δῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἵνα ὅπερ ἐποίησα καλῶς κατὰ θεσμὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν, εἴπω γεγενῆσθαι κακῶς."

§11. *Καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐρωτηθείς, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς καθὼς ὁ Θεὸς ἐχορήγησεν αὐτῷ, ἐξάγεται τοῦ σεκρέτου, καὶ εἰσάγουσι τὸν γέροντα, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κῦρις Τρωΐλος· "Εἰπέ, ἀββᾶ, βλέπε εἰπὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἐλεεῖ σε ὁ δεσπότης· ἐπεὶ ἐὰν διὰ τῆς νομίμου ζητήσεως ἔλθωμεν, καὶ εὕρῃ κἂν ἓν τῶν κατηγορηθέντων σου ἀληθές, ὁ νόμος φονεύει σε."*

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Καὶ ἤδη εἶπον καὶ πάλιν λέγω ὅτι, ἐὰν ἓν μόνον λέγεται εἶναι ἀληθές, καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς Θεός ἐστιν. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι Θεός, ἀλλὰ ἀποστάτης, καὶ τὰ κατηγορηθέντα μου ψευδῆ καὶ ἀνυπόστατα. Πλὴν εἴ τι κελεύετε ποιῆσαι, ποιήσατε. Θεὸν σέβων, οὐκ ἀδικοῦμαι."

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Οὐκ ἀνεθεμάτισας τὸν Τύπον;"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "Πολλάκις εἶπον ὅτι ἀνεθεμάτισα."

Λέγει αὐτῷ· "Τὸν Τύπον ἀνεθεμάτισας, τὸν βασιλέα ἀνεθεμάτισας."

Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Ἐγὼ βασιλέα οὐκ ἀνεθεμάτισα, ἀλλὰ χάρτην ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως."

§10. And again, on the next Saturday,[48] they brought them into the palace. And they brought in first the old man's disciple, the two patriarchs[49] also being present at the time. And they brought Constantine and Menas,[50] the old man's accusers, and these demanded that the disciple agree entirely with what they had said. With great outspokenness the disciple said fearlessly to the senate: 'Are you bringing Constantine into the privy chamber of the palace? He's neither a priest nor a monk, but a pander. It was known to the Africans and Romans what kind of females he kept when he went there. Everyone knew the tricks he used to hide the fact: sometimes he said that they were his sisters, sometimes he said: "I took them so that they wouldn't be in communion with the church of Constantinople, in case they be stained by communion with heretics." And again, if the opportunity for wantonness failed him, and he found a region where he was unknown, he would do the same things for the sake of disgusting profit and dirty pleasure. And for those who want to lead a decent life it's a great shame ever to come in contact with him.' Then after that, when he was asked if he had anathematized the *Typos*, he answered fearlessly: 'Not only have I anathematized it, but I've also composed a small document[51] [against it].'

'How can you say that? Don't you confess that you've acted wrongly?' the officials said to him.

And he said: 'May God not grant that I should say that what I did correctly according to the law of the church was done wrongly.'

§11. And when he had been asked many other questions and had answered as God provided, he was led out of the privy chamber, and they brought in the old man, and lord Troilus said to him: 'Speak, Father. Look, speak the truth, and the master will have pity on you; because if we go through a legal enquiry and if even one of the accusations against you is true, the law will take your life.'

And he said: 'I've already said, and I say it again, that if one single thing is said to be true, Satan too is God. But if he's not God but an apostate, the accusations made against me are also false and without substance. Still, if you order something to be done, so be it. If I worship God I won't come to harm.'

And he said to him: 'Didn't you anathematize the *Typos*?'

He answered: 'I've said many times that I did.'

He said to him: 'You've anathematized the *Typos*—you've anathematized the emperor.'

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Ποῦ ἀνεθεματίσθη;"

"Ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου Ῥώμης" ἀπεκρίθη, "εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον."

Τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἔπαρχος· "Κοινωνεῖς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ᾧδε, ἢ οὐ κοινωνεῖς;"

Ἀπεκρίθη, καὶ εἶπεν· "Οὐ κοινωνῶ."

Λέγει αὐτῷ· "Διὰ τί;"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "Ὅτι ἔξω ἔβαλεν τὰς συνόδους."

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἐὰν ἔξω ἔβαλεν τὰς συνόδους, πῶς εἰς τὰ δίπτυχα ἀναφέρονται;"

Καὶ λέγει· "Καὶ τίς ὄνησις ὀνομάτων, τῶν δογμάτων ἐκβεβλημένων;"

"Καὶ δύνασαι," ἔφη, "τοῦτο δεῖξαι;"

Καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἐὰν λάβω ἄδειαν, καὶ κελεύετε, δειχθῆναι ἔχει τοῦτο πάνυ εὐχερῶς."

Καὶ σιωπησάντων πάντων λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σακελλάριος· "Διὰ τί ἀγαπᾷς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς μισεῖς;"

Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος εἶπεν· "Παραγγελίαν ἔχομεν τοῦ μὴ μισῆσαι τινά.[n] *Ἀγαπῶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ὁμοπίστους, τοὺς δὲ Γραικοὺς ὡς ὁμογλώσσους."*

Καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σακελλάριος· "Πόσων ἐτῶν λέγεις σεαυτόν;"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "οε'."

Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Πόσους χρόνους ἔχει μετὰ σοῦ ὁ μαθητής σου;"

Ἀπεκρίθη· "λζ'."

Τότε ἀνέκραξεν εἷς κληρικός· "Ἀπέδωκέ σοι ὁ Θεὸς ὅσα ἐποίησας τῷ μακαρίῳ Πύρρῳ."

Πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη ὅλως.

§12. *Τοσούτων δὲ λαληθέντων ἐν τῷ σεκρέτῳ, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὅλως τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἐφθέγξατο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κινεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς συνόδου Ῥώμης λόγον, κράζει ὁ Δημοσθένης· "Οὐ κεκύρωται ἡ σύνοδος, τοῦ συγκροτήσαντος αὐτὴν καθαιρεθέντος."*

Καὶ λέγει ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος· "Οὐ καθῃρέθη, ἀλλ' ἐδιώχθη. Ποία γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις συνοδικὴ καὶ κανονικὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχουσα αὐτοῦ τὴν καθαίρεσιν; Πλὴν ἵνα καὶ κανονικῶς καθῃρέθη, οὐ ποιεῖ τοῦτο πρόκριμα τοῖς ὀρθοδόξως κατὰ τοὺς

[n] Cf. Matt. 5: 38–48, Lk. 6: 27

The servant of God answered: 'I haven't anathematized the emperor, but a document alien to the faith of the church.'

And he said to him: 'Where was it anathematized?'

'During the synod of Rome,' he answered, 'in the Church of the Saviour and in that of the Mother of God.'[52]

Then the eparch said to him: 'Are you in communion with the church of the people in this city, or are you not?'

He answered and said: 'I'm not.'

He said to him: 'Why?'

He answered: 'Because it has rejected the synods.'

And he said: 'If it has rejected the synods, how is it that they are referred to in the diptychs?'

And he said: 'What's the use of names, if the teachings have been rejected?'

'And can you,' he said, 'prove this?'

And he said: 'If I have permission, and you give the order, it will be very easy for this to be proven.'

And when everyone had stopped speaking the finance minister said to him: 'Why do you love the Romans, and hate the Greeks?'

The servant of God said in reply: 'We have a commandment not to hate anybody. I love the Romans because we share the same faith, whereas I love the Greeks because we share the same language.'

And again the finance minister said to him: 'How old do you say you are?'

He answered: 'Seventy-five.'

And he said to him: 'How many years has your disciple been with you?'

He answered: 'Thirty-seven.'

Then one of the clerics called out: 'God has paid you back for what you did to blessed Pyrrhus.'

To this man he made no reply at all.

§12. During the lengthy discussions in the privy chamber, not one of the patriarchs said anything at all. But when mention was made of the synod of Rome, Demosthenes[53] called out: 'The synod has not been ratified, because the person who convened it has been deposed.'

And the servant of God said: 'Not deposed but banished. What synodical and canonical act is there in the proceedings which firmly supports his deposition? Still, even if he *were* canonically deposed, this does not prejudice what was ratified in an orthodox manner through

θείους κανόνας κυρωθεῖσιν· οἷς καὶ τὰ γραφέντα παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πάπα Θεοδώρου συμβαίνουσιν."

Καὶ λέγει τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ κῦρις Τρωΐλος· "Οὐκ οἶδας τί λέγεις, ἀββᾶ· τὸ γενόμενον γέγονεν."

§13. Ταῦτα ὅσα ἡ μνήμη κατέχει τὰ κεκινημένα καὶ λελαλημένα· καὶ εἰς τοιοῦτον τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς κατέληξε τέλος, ἀπολυθέντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεκρέτου. Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἦν κυριακή, συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες[o] οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔπεισαν τὸν βασιλέα, ταύτην αὐτοὺς κατακρῖναι τὴν πικρὰν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἐξορίαν, διῃρημένους ἀλλήλων· τὸν μὲν ἅγιον γέροντα εἰς Βιζύην κάστρον τῆς Θράκης· τὸν δὲ μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Πέρβεριν, ὃ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξώτερον βῆμα ποδὸς ἡ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία· ἀπρονοήτους, γυμνούς, ἀτρόφους, πάσης τῆς πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀφορμῆς ἐστερημένους· μὴ ἐγγίζοντας θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα μὴ ἔχωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐλεημόνων ἐπίσκεψιν. Καὶ οὕτως εἰσὶ γυμνοὶ καὶ ἄτροφοι, μόνην ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ Θεοῦ· παρακαλοῦντες πάντας Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τοῦτο βοῶντες· "Εὔξασθε διὰ τὸν Κύριον, ἵνα τελειώσῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ διδάξῃ ἡμᾶς ὅτι οἱ συμπλέοντες αὐτῷ, ἠγριωμένης πεῖραν λαμβάνουσι θαλάσσης, ἀνέμοις καὶ κύμασιν δονουμένου μὲν τοῦ σκάφους, ἀκατασείστου δὲ διαμένοντος." Συγχωρεῖ γὰρ κλύδωνος μεγάλου αὐτοὺς πειρασθῆναι, δοκιμάζων αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν, ἵνα μεγάλῃ φωνῇ κράξωσιν· Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα·[p] καὶ μάθωσι πάντα μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐπιγράφειν, τὰ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας· καὶ μὴ πεποιθότες ὦσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τύχωσιν γαλήνης μεγάλης, τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τῶν κυμάτων κατευνασθέντων. Καὶ εἰς μέσον λύκων[q] αὐτοὺς ἐκδίδωσιν, καὶ διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ διὰ τεθλιμμένης[r] ὁδεύειν τρίβου παρακελεύεται· καὶ λιμόν, καὶ δίψαν, καὶ γύμνωσιν, καὶ δεσμά, καὶ φυλακάς, καὶ ἀπαγωγάς, καὶ μάστιγας, καὶ σταυρόν, καὶ ἥλους, καὶ ὄξος, καὶ χολήν, καὶ ἐμπτύσματα, καὶ ῥαπίσματα, καὶ κολαφίσματα, καὶ ἐμπαιγμοὺς προτείνεται, καὶ πάθος καὶ θανάτους πολυτρόπους· ὧν τέλος, ἡ παμφαὴς ἀνάστασις, φέρουσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς εἰρήνην τοῖς δι' αὐτὸν διωχθεῖσιν, καὶ χαρὰν τοῖς δι' αὐτὸν θλιβεῖσιν, καὶ ἀνάληψιν εἰς οὐρανούς, καὶ προσαγωγὴν τῷ πατρικῷ καὶ ὑπερουσίῳ θρόνῳ, καὶ λῆξιν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς οὖσαν καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος· καὶ παντὸς

[o] Mk. 15: 1 [p] Matt. 8: 25 [q] Matt. 10: 16 [r] Matt. 7: 13–14, Lk. 13: 23

the sacred canon, with which the writings of the late Pope Theodore concur as well.'

And lord Troilus said when he heard this: 'You don't know what you're saying, Father. What's happened has happened.'

§13. This was what was done and said, as much as can be remembered. And the process against them came to an end like this, when the holy old man was dismissed from the privy chamber into prison. And on the next day, which was Sunday, the ecclesiastical officials *took counsel* and persuaded the emperor to sentence them to this cruel and inhuman exile, separating them from each other, the holy old man to Bizya, a fort in Thrace, his disciple to Perberis, which is the furthest outpost of the Roman empire,[54] without provisions, without clothing, without nourishment, deprived of all resources for living. They were not close to the sea, so that they did not have visits from those who took pity on them. And so they are, without clothing and without nourishment, having only hope in God. They exhort all Christians with the cry: 'Pray through the Lord that God may perfect his mercy by the aid of our dejection, and may teach us that those who sail along with him experience a savage sea, as the ship is tossed by wind and wave, but remains unshakeable.' Their point is that he allowed them to be tried by rough surf, testing their disposition towards him, so that they might call out loudly: '*Lord, save us—we're perishing*'; and so that they might learn to attribute to him everything that pertained to their salvation; and so that by not relying on themselves they might attain great calm when the wind and the waves had been lulled. And he delivers them *into the midst of wolves* and encourages them to go in *through the narrow gate*, and to travel along the straight path. And he offers them hunger, thirst, nakedness, bonds, prisons, guards, captivity, scourging, a cross, nails, vinegar, bile, spitting, slapping, buffeting, and mockery. And suffering and different types of death. The end of these [tribulations] is a radiant resurrection, bringing peace with it for those who have been persecuted on his account, and joy to those who have been afflicted on his account, and ascent into heaven, and access to the Father's super-essential throne, and an appointed place *above every rule and authority and power and domination, and above every name that is named*, whether *in the present age* or *in the age to come*. May we all obtain it, through the prayers and intercessions of the ever-virgin Mary, who is truly by nature Mother of God, all-praiseworthy and all-revered and supremely glorious, and of the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, amen.

ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, εἴτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, εἴτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι·[s] *ἧς τύχοιμεν ἅπαντες, εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις τῆς πανυμνήτου καὶ πανσέπτου καὶ ὑπερενδόξου κυρίως φύσει Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, προφητῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἀμήν.*

[s] Eph. 1: 21

DISPUTATIO INTER MAXIMUM ET THEODOSIUM

DISPUTATIO INTER MAXIMUM ET THEODOSIUM, EPISCOPUM CAESAREAE BITHYNIAE (*CPG* 7735)

Τόμος περιέχον τὰ κινηθέντα δόγματα μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Μαξίμου καὶ Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς Βιθυνίας, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρχόντων τοῦ παλατίου.

§1. *Τὰ κεκινημένα περὶ τῆς ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ τῆς τῶν δι' ἐναντίας παρεισάκτου καινοτομίας μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου καὶ Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Βιθυνίας ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην κατάδηλα ποιῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν ὀρθοδοξίᾳ διατελοῦσιν, ἵνα ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ τούτων εἰδέναι ἔχοντες, δοξάζητε μᾶλλον τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεόν, τὸν διδόντα λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος*[a] *τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτόν· μήπως συνήθως οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τἀναντία ταύτης διαφημίζοντες, ἐκταράξωσιν ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας.*

§2. *Τοιγαροῦν τῇ εἰκάδι τετάρτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς νῦν παρελθούσης τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἐξῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ παρεφυλάττετο ἐξορίᾳ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Βιζύης, ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος Θεοδόσιος ὡς εἶπεν ἐκ προσώπου Πέτρου τοῦ προέδρου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πεμφθείς, καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Θεοδόσιος οἱ ὕπατοι, ὡς εἶπαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθέντες· καὶ ἀνελθόντες πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον μοναχὸν Μάξιμον, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἀπεκέκλειστο, ἐκάθισαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ αὐτὸν καθίσαι, συνόντος αὐτοῖς δηλονότι καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Βιζύης.*

§3. *Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· "Πῶς ἔχεις, κῦρι ἀββᾶ;"*

Witnesses: *RXLTAMSWND p*

[a] Eph. 6: 19

DISPUTE AT BIZYA
(*CPG* 7735)

A book containing the teachings which were discussed between holy Maximus and Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea in Bithynia,[1] *and the rulers of the palace [who were] with them.*

§1. I have thought it necessary to make evident to all of you who persevere in right belief the discussions between Father Maximus and Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea Bithynia, concerning our blameless Christian faith and the innovation which was introduced by those outside it. My purpose is that when you have more accurate knowledge of these matters you will glorify the more God who loves human beings, *who gives a word in the opening of the mouth* of those who fear him, so that the enemies of the truth, in their usual way, do not spread abroad the opposite of what happened, and trouble your hearts.

§2. It was, then, on the twenty-fourth day of August in the fourteenth indiction just passed that Bishop Theodosius, whom I have mentioned, went out to Maximus in the place of exile where he was held (that is, in the fort of Bizya), being sent, as he claimed, as the representative of Peter, patriarch of Constantinople. The consuls Paul and Theodosius,[2] too, were sent, as they too claimed, as the emperor's representatives. And when they reached the monk Maximus, whom I have mentioned, in the place where he was imprisoned, they sat down, and ordered him too to sit. The bishop of Bizya was with them as well, of course.

§3. And Bishop Theodosius said to Maximus: 'How are you, my lord Father?'

Maximus said to him: 'As God preordained before all ages a way of life for me in his providence, that's how I am.'

Μάξιμος πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ὡς προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ προνοητικὴν διεξαγωγήν, οὕτως ἔχω."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί οὖν; Πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος τὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν προώρισεν ὁ Θεός;"

Μάξιμος· "Εἴπερ προέγνω,[b] πάντως καὶ προώρισε."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί ἐστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ 'προέγνω' καὶ 'προώρισε';"

Μάξιμος· "Ἡ πρόγνωσις τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐννοιῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ προορισμὸς τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων ἐστί."

Θεοδόσιος· "Ποῖα εἰσὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ποῖα τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν;"

Μάξιμος· "Ὡς ἔοικε, πάντα γινώσκων ὁ δεσπότης μου, δοκιμαστικῶς διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ."

Θεοδόσιος· "Μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀγνοῶν ἠρώτησα, καὶ μαθεῖν θέλων τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· καὶ πῶς τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πρόγνωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν προορισμὸν ὑπάρχουσι."

Μάξιμος· "Ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὰ ἑκούσια πάντα, ἤγουν ἀρεταὶ καὶ κακίαι· οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ αἱ ἐπιφοραὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἡμῖν κολαστικῶν τρόπων, ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἡ κολάζουσα νόσος, οὔτε ἡ εὐφραίνουσα ὑγεία· κἂν αἱ ποιητικαὶ τούτων αἰτίαι. Οἷον· αἰτία νόσου ἀταξία, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑγείας εὐταξία· καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν αἰτία ἡ τῶν ἐντολῶν φυλακή, ὥσπερ καὶ πυρὸς αἰωνίου ἡ τούτων παράβασις."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί οὖν; Διατοῦτο θλίβῃ ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἄξια τινὰ ἐποίησας ταύτης τῆς θλίψεως;"

Μάξιμος· "Παρακαλῶ ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ταύτῃ τῇ θλίψει περιορίσῃ τὰς ἐκτίσεις ὧν ἥμαρτον αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει τῶν αὐτοῦ δικαιωτικῶν ἐντολῶν."

Θεοδόσιος· "Οὐκ ἔστι καὶ δοκιμῆς ἕνεκεν ἐπαγομένη πολλοῖς θλίψις;"[c]

Μάξιμος· "Ἡ δοκιμὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, ἵνα φανερωθῶσι διὰ τῆς θλίψεως τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ περὶ τὸ φύσει καλὸν διαθέσεις αὐτῶν, ἑαυταῖς συνεκφαίνουσαι τὰς ἠγνοημένας πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἀρετάς, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰὼβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φανερώσει τῆς ἐγκεκρυμμένης ἀνδρείας ἐπειράζετο· ὁ δὲ ἐπ' ἐκφάνσει τῆς ἁγιαστικῆς σωφροσύνης ἐδοκιμάζετο· καὶ πᾶς τῶν ἁγίων ἀκουσίως ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ θλιβεὶς ἐπί τισι τοιαύταις οἰκονομίαις ἐθλίβετο, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς συγχωρουμένης αὐτοῖς ἐπαχθῆναι, τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ ἀποστάτην πατήσωσι

[b] Cf. Rom. 8: 29 [c] Cf. Rom. 5: 3–4

Theodosius: 'How can you say that? Did God preordain our individual destinies before all time?'

Maximus: 'If he had foreknowledge assuredly he preordained as well.'

Theodosius: 'What is the exact meaning of the words "had foreknowledge" and "preordained"?'

Maximus: 'Foreknowledge pertains to thoughts and words and actions which come from us. Predestination pertains to those accidents which do not come from us.'

Theodosius: 'What is the nature of those matters which are from us, and what is the nature of those which are not from us?'

Maximus: 'It seems that although my master knows everything he is discussing questions to test his servant.'

Theodosius: 'By God's truth, I asked in ignorance, and because I wished to know the difference between those matters which are from us and those which are not from us, as well as how some were subjected to God's foreknowledge, and others to predestination.'

Maximus: 'The matters which are from us are all acts of volition, that is to say, virtues and vices. Those which are not from us are inflictions of kinds of punishments which happen to us, or their opposites. I mean that neither the punishment of illness is from us, nor the gladness of good health, although the operating causes of these states [do originate from within us]. For example, the cause of illness is intemperance, just as the cause of good health is temperance, and the cause of the kingdom of heaven is the keeping of the commandments, just as the cause of eternal fire, too, is transgressing them.'

Theodosius: 'How can you say that? Is that why you suffer in this place of exile, because you've committed some deeds worthy of this suffering?'

Maximus: 'I pray that, by this suffering, God may limit the punishments of which I was guilty in sinning against him by transgressing his commandments, which bring justification.'

Theodosius: 'Isn't suffering endured by many also for the sake of being tested?'

Maximus: 'Being tested is proper to the saints, so that through the suffering in people's lives may be shown their dispositions, which concern what is naturally good, [and] may show them at the same time their virtues, which are unknown to everyone, as in the case of Job and Joseph. For the former was tried in order to demonstrate his hidden fortitude, the latter was tested in order to exhibit the chastity which made him a saint. And every one of the saints who suffered

δράκοντα, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον.[d] Ἡ γὰρ ὑπομονή, δοκιμῆς ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἁγίων."[e]

Θεοδόσιος· "Μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καλῶς εἶπας· καὶ ὁμολογῶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν· καὶ ἐζήτουν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀεὶ συνδιαλέγεσθαι ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ κεφαλαίῳ κἀγὼ καὶ οἱ δεσπόται μου οἱ μελλοπατρίκιοι πρὸς σὲ γεγόναμεν, καὶ τοσαῦτα διαστήματα ἤλθομεν, παρακαλοῦμέν σε τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ χαροποιῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην."

Μάξιμος· "Ποῖα ταῦτα εἰσί, δέσποτα, καὶ τίς ἐγὼ καὶ πόθεν εἰμί, ἵνα ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς προτεινομένοις μοι συγκατάθεσις χαροποιήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἅπερ λέγω σοι ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ δεσπόται μου οἱ μελλοπατρίκιοι, ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς δεσπότου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἠκούσαμεν."

Μάξιμος· "Κελεύσατε οἱ δεσπόται μου εἰπεῖν ἅπερ βούλεσθε καὶ ἅπερ ἠκούσατε."

Θεοδόσιος· "Παρακαλεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης δι' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν παρὰ σοῦ, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν οὐ κοινωνεῖς τῷ θρόνῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως."

Μάξιμος· "Ἔχετε περὶ τούτου ἐπιτροπὴν ἔγγραφον παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Οὐκ ὤφειλες δέσποτα ἀπιστῆσαι ἡμῖν. Κἂν γὰρ ταπεινός εἰμι, ἀλλ' ἐπίσκοπος ἀκούω· καὶ οἱ δεσπόται μου, τῆς συγκλήτου μέρος ὑπάρχουσι· καὶ οὐκ ἤλθομεν πειράσαι σε· μὴ δῷ ὁ Θεός."

Μάξιμος· "Οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ ἤλθετε πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ χωρὶς πάσης ὑποστολῆς λέγω τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν οὐ κοινωνῶ τῷ θρόνῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Πλὴν εἰ καὶ ἄλλων ἦν τὸ ἐρωτᾶν με διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν, ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστι, τῶν γινωσκόντων ἀσφαλῶς πλεῖον ἐμοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν.

Γινώσκετε τὰς γενομένας καινοτομίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ διελθόντος κύκλου, ἀρξαμένας ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας διὰ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐννέα κεφαλαίων παρὰ Κύρου, τοῦ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς γεγονότος ἐκεῖσε προέδρου, τῶν βεβαιωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀλλοιώσεις, προσθήκας τὲ καὶ μειώσεις, τὰς γενομένας συνοδικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν προεδρευσάντων τῆς τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐκκλησίας, Σεργίου λέγω καὶ Πύρρου καὶ Παύλου· ἅστινας καινοτομίας πᾶσα γινώσκει ἡ καθ'

[d] Cf. Lk. 10:19 [e] Cf. Rom. 5: 4; Jam. 1: 3

involuntarily in this life suffered in accordance with such arrangements, so that through the weakness which allows them to be burdened they might trample on the proud and apostate serpent, that is the devil. I mean that endurance in the case of each of the saints is the result of having been put to the test.'

Theodosius: 'By God's truth, you have spoken well, and I confess the usefulness [of what you have said]. I always wanted to converse with you on matters like these. But because both I and my masters, the patricians elect,[3] have come to you on another subject, and we have travelled such great distances, please accept our offer and make the whole world happy.'

Maximus: 'What sort of offer is this, master, and who am I and from what stock, that my assent to your offer to me would make the whole world happy?'

Theodosius: 'By the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, what I am telling you, I and my masters the patricians elect, we heard from the mouth of our lord the patriarch and the orthodox master of the world.'

Maximus: 'My masters, please say what you wish and what you heard.'

Theodosius: 'The emperor and the patriarch ask through us to ascertain from you the reason for which you are not in communion with the see of Constantinople.'

Maximus: 'Do you have an order in writing concerning this from the most orthodox emperor or from the patriarch?'

Theodosius: 'Master, you shouldn't doubt us, for even if I am lowly I am a bishop, and my lords are part of the senate. And we haven't come to try you—God forbid!'

Maximus: 'In whatever manner you have come to your servant, I will tell you without any reserve the reason that I am not in communion with the see of Constantinople. However, even if it was the task of others to ask me the reason, it is not your task, because you know the reason with more certainty than I.

You know the innovations which came into being from the sixth indiction of the past cycle,[4] which were begun in Alexandria by means of the *Nine Chapters* published by Cyrus, who—I don't know how—had been made president[5] there. They were ratified by the see of Constantinople, as well as the other changes, both additions and deletions, which were made in synodical letters by those presiding over the church of Byzantium—I mean Sergius and Pyrrhus and Paul.[6] Our whole world recognizes these as innovations. It is for this

ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένη. Διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ κοινωνῶ, ὁ δοῦλος ὑμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἀρθῶσι τὰ προσκόμματα τὰ τεθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν, μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν θεμένων αὐτά, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαρρίψατε,[f] καὶ τὴν λείαν καὶ τετριμμένην,[g] καὶ πάσης ἀκανθώδους αἱρετικῆς ἐλευθέραν ὁδὸν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου βαδίσατε, καὶ καθάπερ ἦν εὑρίσκων, ὁδεύω πάσης δίχα προτροπῆς ἀνθρωπίνης. Ἕως ἂν δὲ τοῖς τεθεῖσι προσκόμμασιν, καὶ τοῖς τεθεικόσιν αὐτὰ σεμνύνωνται οἱ πρόεδροι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, οὐδείς ἐστιν ὁ πείθων με λόγος ἢ τρόπος κοινωνῆσαι αὐτοῖς."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί γὰρ κακὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἵνα χωρισθῇς τῆς κοινωνίας ἡμῶν;"

Μάξιμος· "Ὅτι μίαν ἐνέργειαν λέγοντες θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχέετε τόν τε τῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγον. Εἰ γὰρ πεισθῆναι δεῖ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι, λέγουσιν Ὧν ἡ ἐνέργεια μία, τούτων καὶ ἡ οὐσία μία, τετράδα ποιεῖτε τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, ὡς ὁμοφυοῦς τῷ Λόγῳ γενομένης τῆς αὐτοῦ σαρκός, καὶ ἐκστάσης τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὸν τεκοῦσαν συγγενοῦς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ταυτότητος.

Καὶ πάλιν ἀναιροῦντες τὰς ἐνεργείας, καὶ μίαν κυροῦντες θέλησιν θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ἀφαιρεῖσθε αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν διανομήν. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἐνέργειαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει, κατὰ τοὺς τοῦτο θεσπίσαντας, δῆλον ὅτι, κἂν θέλῃ, ἐλεῆσαι οὐ δύναται, ἀφαιρεθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνεργείας, εἴπερ ἐνεργείας φυσικῆς χωρίς, οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐνεργεῖν ἢ πράττειν πέφυκεν.

Ἄλλως τε δέ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ποιεῖτε τῷ μὲν θελήματι συνδημιουργὸν πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Πατρί τε καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι, τῇ δὲ φύσει κτιστήν· ἢ τὸ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἄναρχον τῇ θελήσει, εἴπερ ἡ θεία θέλησις ἄναρχός ἐστιν, ὡς ἀνάρχου θεότητος· τῇ δὲ φύσει πρόσφατον, ὅπερ πᾶσαν οὐκ ἄνοιαν ὑπερβαίνει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσέβειαν. Οὐ γὰρ λέγετε ἁπλῶς μόνον ἓν θέλημα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο θεϊκόν. Θείας δὲ θελήσεως οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀρχὴν ἐπινοῆσαι χρονικὴν ἢ τέλος, ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως, ἧς ἐστιν οὐσιώδης ἡ θέλησις.

Πάλιν δὲ ἑτέραν εἰσάγοντες καινοτομίαν, ἀφαιρεῖσθε παντάπασι πάντα τὰ γνωριστικὰ καὶ συστατικὰ τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νόμοις καὶ τύποις θεσπίζοντες μήτε μίαν, μήτε δύο ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ θελήσεις ἢ ἐνεργείας λέγεσθαι· ὅπέρ ἐστι

[f] Is. 62: 10 [g] Cf. Is. 40: 4

reason that I, your servant, am not in communion with the church of Constantinople. Let the offending innovations proposed by the men I have mentioned be removed, together with those same men who proposed them, as God said: "*And throw the stones from the path*, and walk the level and smooth path of the Gospel", which is free from every thorn of heresy. Similarly I, on finding it so, shall walk without any human encouragement. But as long as the presidents of Constantinople take pride in the offending articles which have been proposed, and in those who have proposed them, there is no word or means to persuade me to enter into communion with them.'

Theodosius: 'So, what evil do we confess that makes you separate yourself from communion with us?'

Maximus: 'It is because, in saying that there is one activity of the divinity and humanity of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, you confuse both the language of theology and of the economy.[7] The point is that, if you are to believe the holy Fathers, who say: "*Those who have one activity have also one essence*",[8] you are making a quaternity of the holy Trinity, in that Christ's flesh becomes one being with the Word, and stands aside from the cognate identity which by nature he has with us and with the woman who bore him.

And again, by destroying the activities and asserting one will of the divinity of the same one and of the humanity, you remove the blessings which he has bestowed [on us]. For if he has no activity, according to those who ratified this, it is clear that, even if he wants to, he cannot show mercy, because the activity of his blessings has been removed, if indeed without natural activity nothing which exists remains to have an activity or to perform.

Let me put it another way. You make the flesh, with regard to the will, a co-creator with Father, Son, and Spirit, of all ages and of those in them; with regard to nature [you make the flesh] a creator, or to speak more truthfully, not having a beginning with respect to its will, in as much as the divine will is without beginning, since the divinity is without beginning; with regard to the nature [you make the flesh] recent, which exceeds not only all sense but also all impiety. I mean that you do not simply speak only of one will, but you say also that it is divine. But nobody can think up a temporal beginning or end of divine will because [it cannot be done] even of the divine nature, to the essence of which the will is proper.

Again, introducing another innovation, you completely remove everything which signifies and confirms the divinity and humanity of Christ, sanctioning by laws and decrees that neither one nor two wills

πράγματος ἀνυπάρκτου. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων, εἴτε νοερόν ἐστιν ἀφῄρηται θελητικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας, εἴτε αἰσθητικόν, τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἐνεργείας, εἴτε φυτικόν, αὐξητικῆς καὶ θρεπτικῆς ἐνεργείας· εἴτε παντελῶς ἄψυχον καὶ πάσης ἄμοιρον ζωῆς, τῆς καθ' ἕξιν λεγομένης ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος, καὶ δηλοῦσι πάντα τὰ οὕτως ὄντα, ἀντιληπτικὰ τυγχάνοντα ταῖς τῶν αἰσθητικῶν αἰσθήσεσιν· ἐνέργεια γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων, τὸ ὑποπεσεῖν πάντως ὁράσει διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιφανείας, ἀκοῇ διὰ κτύπου, ὀσφρήσει δι' ἀτμοῦ τινὸς προσφυοῦς, γεύσει τισὶ χυμοῖς, καὶ ἁφῇ διὰ τῆς ἀντιτυπίας. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐνέργειαν λέγομεν τῆς ὁράσεως τὸ ὁρᾶν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν θεωροῦμεν γινόμενα τρόπον. Εἰ τοίνυν οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ πάσης ἔρημον παντελῶς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεός (ἱλάσθητι Κύριε) οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φυσικὴν θέλησιν ἢ ἐνέργειαν καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἅπερ ἐστί, πῶς δυνάμεθα ἢ εἶναι ἢ καλεῖσθαι θεοσεβεῖς, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ὑπάρχοντα θελητικὸν ἢ ἐνεργητικὸν τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν προσκυνούμενον λέγοντες θεόν; Τρανῶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διδασκόμεθα, λέγοντων· Τὸ γὰρ μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχον, οὔτε ἔστιν, οὔτε τί ἐστιν, οὔτε ἔστι τις αὐτοῦ παντελῶς θέσις."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τὸ δι' οἰκονομίαν γινόμενον, μὴ λάβῃς ὡς κύριον δόγμα."

Μάξιμος· "Εἰ μὴ ἔστι κύριον δόγμα τῶν δεχομένων, ὁ θεσπίζων Τύπος καὶ νόμος μηδεμίαν λέγεσθαι τοῦ Κυρίου θέλησιν ἢ ἐνέργειαν, ὧν ἡ ἀφαίρεσις τὴν ἀνυπαρξίαν δηλοῖ τοῦ ταύτας ἀφῃρημένου, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι καὶ ἀθέοις ἀπέδοσθέ με ἄνευ τιμῆς; Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν κατεκρίθην οἰκῆσαι Βιζύην, καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοί μου, ὁ μὲν Πέρβεριν, ὁ δὲ Μεσημβρίαν;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Μὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν μέλλοντά με ἐτάσαι, καὶ ὅτε γέγονεν εἶπον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγω, ὅτι κακῶς γέγονεν ὁ Τύπος, καὶ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ πολλῶν. Πρόφασις δὲ γέγονε τοῦ ἐκτεθῆναι αὐτόν, ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ὀρθοδόξων περὶ θελημάτων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ζυγομαχία· καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρηνεῦσαι πάντας, συνεῖδον τινὲς τὰς τοιαύτας κατασιγασθῆναι φωνάς."

Μάξιμος· "Καὶ ποῖος πιστὸς δέχεται οἰκονομίαν κατασιγάζουσαν φωνάς, ἅσπερ λαλεῖσθαι δι' ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ᾠκονόμησε;[h] *Καὶ σκοπήσωμεν, κῦρι ὁ μέγας, εἰς ποῖον κακὸν καταντᾷ ψηλαφώμενον τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Θεὸς ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον*

[h] Cf. Eph. 4: 11

or activities are to be spoken about in him, which is characteristic of something without an individual existence. I say this because nothing which exists, if it is rational, is deprived of power and activity having will; if it is sensual, of a sensual activity; if it is able to grow, of a growing and increasing activity; if it is completely inanimate, and devoid of all life, it is not deprived of a so-called activity and propensity appropriate to its state; and they indicate that everything exists in this way, being aids to the senses of sensual beings. After all, the activity of such aids is to be completely subordinate: to sight through its own manifestation; to hearing through sound; to smell through some attendant odour; to taste through certain liquids; and to touch through resistance of a surface. For just as we say that the activity of sight is to see, so too [do we say that the activity] of images is being seen. And we perceive that everything else happens in the same way. If, then, nothing that exists is completely devoid of all natural activity, our Lord and God—be propitious, Lord—has no natural will or activity in either of those [natures] from which and in which and which he is,[9] how can we either be or be called pious if we maintain that the God who is adored by us exists in no way with a will or an activity. For we are expressly taught by the holy Fathers when they say: "*For what has no power neither exists, nor is anything, nor has any disposition whatsoever*".'[10]

Theodosius: 'Don't accept as ratified teaching what happened on account of an arrangement.'

Maximus: 'If the *Typos* and the law permitting nobody to speak of the will or activity of the Lord, the removal of which[11] indicates the non-existence of him who has been deprived of them, is not the ratified teaching of those who accept them, for what reason have you handed me over without dignity to barbaric and godless people? For what reason have I been condemned to live in Bizya, and one of my fellow-servants in Perberis and the other in Mesembria?'

Theodosius: 'By God who is going to examine me, I said both when it happened and I say the same now too, that the *Typos* was an evil event, and to the detriment of many. But an occasion occurred for publishing it—the altercation between orthodox parties over the wills and activities, and so that all might be at peace with each other, certain people were privy to the silencing of words such as these.'

Maximus: 'And what believer accepts an arrangement which silences words that the God of all arranged to be spoken through apostles and prophets and teachers? And let us examine, great lord, what great evil that issue may result in when it is handled. For if *God*

ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους[i] πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων,[j] εἰρηκὼς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· Ὁ ὑμῖν λέγω, πᾶσι λέγω,[k] καὶ πάλιν· Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται·[l] καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ,[m] δῆλον ἐστι καὶ προφανές, ὡς ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀλλ' ἀθετῶν αὐτῶν τὰς φωνάς, αὐτὸν ἀθετεῖ τὸν Χριστόν.

Καὶ τὸ ἄλλο δὲ σκοπήσωμεν· Ὁ Θεὸς ἐκλεξάμενος, ἐξήγειρεν ἀποστόλους καὶ προφήτας καὶ διδασκάλους πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων·[n] ὁ δὲ διάβολος ψευδαποστόλους καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλους κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐκλεξάμενος ἐξήγειρεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν πολεμηθῆναι νόμον, καὶ τὸν εὐαγγελικόν. Ψευδαποστόλους δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλους μόνους νοῶ τοὺς αἱρετικούς, ὧν οἱ λόγοι καὶ οἱ λογισμοὶ διεστραμμένοι εἰσίν.[o] Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἀποστόλους καὶ προφήτας καὶ διδασκάλους δεχόμενος, Θεὸν δέχεται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοὺς ψευδαποστόλους καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλους δεχόμενος, τὸν διάβολον δέχεται. Ὁ τοίνυν συνεκβαλλὼν τοὺς ἁγίους τοῖς ἐναγέσι καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις αἱρετικοῖς (δέξασθέ με λέγοντα τὴν ἀλήθειαν), τῷ διαβόλῳ τὸν Θεὸν προφανῶς συγκατέκρινεν.

Εἰ τοίνυν γυμνάζοντες τὰς γενομένας καινοτομίας ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρόνοις, εἰς τοῦτο καταντώσας αὐτὰς εὑρίσκομεν τὸ ἀκρότατον κακόν, ὁρᾶτε μήπως εἰρήνην προφασιζόμενοι, τὴν ἀποστασίαν εὑρεθῶμεν νοσήσαντες καὶ κηρύττοντες, ἣν πρόδρομον εἶπεν ἔσεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίας ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος.[p] Ταῦτα χωρὶς ὑποστολῆς εἶπον ὑμῖν, δεσπόται μου, ἵνα φείσησθε ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν. Κελεύετε ἵνα ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἔχων ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας, εἰσέλθω κοινωνήσων ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα κηρύττεται ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ γένωμαι κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀληθῶς μὲν τὸν Θεόν, δῆθεν δὲ τὸν διάβολον τῷ Θεῷ συνεκβαλλόντων; Μὴ γένοιτό μοι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ δι' ἐμὲ κατ' ἐμὲ γενομένου, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας."[q] Καὶ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν εἶπεν· "Εἴ τι κελεύετε εἰς τὸν δοῦλον ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι, ποιήσατε· ἐγὼ τοῖς ταῦτα δεχομένοις οὐδέποτε γίνομαι κοινωνός."

[i] 1 Cor. 12: 28
[j] Eph. 4: 12
[k] Mk. 13: 37
[l] Matt. 10: 40
[m] Lk. 10: 16
[n] Eph. 4: 11–12
[o] Cf. Acts 20: 30
[p] 2 Thess. 2: 3–4
[q] Heb. 4: 15, 9: 28

placed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, to perfect the saints, saying in the Gospel to the apostles, and through them to those after them: "*What I say to you, I say to everyone*", and again: "*The one who receives you, receives me*", "*and the one who rejects you, rejects me*", it is clear and obvious that the one who does not receive the apostles and the prophets and the teachers, but rejects their words, rejects Christ himself.

But let us examine yet another point. God raised by election *apostles* and *prophets* and *teachers, to perfect the saints*. But the devil raised by election false apostles and false prophets and false teachers against piety, in order that the old law, and the Gospel, might be attached. False apostles and false prophets and false teachers I understand to be the heretics alone, whose words and thoughts are perverted. Therefore, just as the one who receives the true apostles and prophets and teachers receives God, so too the one who receives the false apostles and the false prophets and the false teachers receives the devil. The one, then, who has cast out the saints together with the foul and impure heretics—accept that I am speaking the truth—has obviously condemned God together with the devil.

If, therefore, in discussing the innovations which have happened in our times, we find that they have resulted in this utmost evil, beware lest under the guise of peace we are found to be sick with apostasy, and preaching it, which the divine apostle said would come before the advent of the Antichrist. I have said this to you, my masters, without reserve, so that you may spare both yourselves and us. Do you command that, when I have this written in the book of my heart, I come into communion with the church in which this is preached, and be in communion with those who in truth cast out God, but in fact cast out the devil together with God? May it not be done to me by God, who on my account, for my sake, was made *without sin*'. And on bended knee he said: 'Whatever you order to be done to your servant, do. I will never be in communion with those who accept this.'

§4. *Καὶ ἀποπαγέντες ἐπὶ τοῖς λαληθεῖσι, κάτω βαλόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐσίγησαν ἐπὶ ἱκανὴν ὥραν· καὶ ἀνακύψας καὶ τῷ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμῳ ἀτενίσας Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· "Ἡμεῖς ἀντιφωνοῦμέν σοι τὸν δεσπότην ἡμῶν τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτι σοῦ κοινωνοῦντος κουφίζει τὸν Τύπον."*

Μάξιμος· "Πολὺ ἀκμὴν ἀπέχομεν ἀλλήλων· τί ποιοῦμεν περὶ τῆς συνοδικῶς βεβαιωθείσης φωνῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς θελήματος, ἐπ' ἐκβολῇ πάσης ἐνεργείας, ὑπὸ Σεργίου καὶ Πύρρου καὶ Παύλου;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Ἐκεῖνος ὁ χάρτης κατηνέχθη καὶ ἀπεβλήθη."

Μάξιμος· "Κατηνέχθη ἐκ τῶν λιθίνων τοίχων, οὐ μὴν ἐκ τῶν νοερῶν ψυχῶν. Δέξωνται τὴν κατάκρισιν τούτων τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνοδικῶς ἐκτεθεῖσαν δι' εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων τε καὶ κανόνων, καὶ λέλυται τὸ μεσότοιχον,[r] *καὶ προτροπῆς οὐ δεόμεθα."*

Καὶ εἶπε Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· "Οὐκ ἔρρωται ἡ σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ χωρὶς κελεύσεως γέγονε βασιλέως."

Μάξιμος· "Εἰ τὰς γινομένας συνόδους αἱ κελεύσεις τῶν βασιλέων κυροῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εὐσεβὴς πίστις, δέξαι τὰς κατὰ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου γενομένας συνόδους, ἐπειδὴ κελεύσει βασιλέων γεγόνασι· φημὶ δὴ πρώτην τὴν ἐν Τύρῳ, δευτέραν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, τρίτην τὴν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, τετάρτην τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ Εὐδοξίου τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ, πέμπτην τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς Θράκης, ἕκτην τὴν ἐν τῷ Σερμίῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις, ἑβδόμην τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δεύτεραν, ἧς ἐξῆρχε Διόσκορος· ὅλας γὰρ ταύτας κέλευσις βασιλέων ἤθροισε, καὶ ὅμως πᾶσαι κατεκρίθησαν διὰ τὴν ἀθεΐαν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κυρωθέντων ἀσεβῶν δογμάτων. Διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλλετε τὴν καθελοῦσαν Παῦλον τὸν Σαμοσατέα ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων Διονυσίου τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξάρξαντος συνόδου, ἐπειδὴ μὴ κελεύσει γέγονε βασιλέως; Ποῖος δὲ κανὼν διαγορεύει, μόνας ἐκείνας ἐγκρίνεσθαι τὰς συνόδους, τὰς κελεύσει βασιλέως ἀθροισθείσας, ἢ ὅλως κελεύσει βασιλέων πάντως τὰς συνόδους ἀθροίζεσθαι; Ἐκείνας οἶδεν ἁγίας καὶ ἐγκρίτους συνόδους ὁ εὐσεβὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανών, ἃς ὀρθότης δογμάτων ἐνέκρινεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ καθὼς οἶδεν ὁ δεσπότης μου καὶ ἄλλους διδάσκει, δεύτερον γίνεσθαι συνόδους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν τοῦ ἔτους ὁ κανὼν διηγόρευσε, κελεύσεως βασιλικῆς μηδεμίαν μνήμην πεποιημένος, ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς σωτηριώδους ἡμῶν πίστεως, καὶ

[r] Eph. 2: 14

§4. And frozen by what had been said, they bowed their heads and remained silent for a considerable time. And on looking up and nodding at Father Maximus, Bishop Theodosius said: 'We give you a guarantee that, if you communicate, our master the emperor will cancel the *Typos*.'

Maximus: 'We are still a long way from mutual agreement. What will we do about the statement of one will in rejection of any activity, which was agreed on by Sergius and Pyrrhus and Paul in their synodical letters?'[12]

Theodosius: 'That document has been taken down and thrown out.'

Maximus: 'It has been taken down from the stone walls, not, however, from rational souls. Let them accept the condemnation of those men[13] which was made public in Rome by the synod[14] by means of both orthodox teachings and canons, and *the dividing-wall is removed*, and we will not need encouraging.'

And Bishop Theodosius said: 'The synod at Rome was not ratified, because it was held without the order of the emperor.'

Maximus: 'If it is the orders of emperors, but not orthodox faith, that confirm synods which have been held, accept the synods which were held against the "homoousios", because they were held at the order of emperors. I mean the first one in Tyre,[15] the second in Antioch,[16] the third in Seleucia,[17] the fourth in Constantinople under the Arian Eudoxius;[18] the fifth in Nicaea in Thrace;[19] the sixth in Sirmium;[20] and after these many years later, the seventh, the second one in Ephesus, at which Dioscorus presided.[21] For the order of emperors convened all of these synods, and nevertheless all of them were condemned on account of the godlessness of the impious teachings that were confirmed by them. Why don't you reject the one which deposed Paul of Samosata under the holy and blessed Dionysius, pope of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory the Wonder-Worker, who presided over the same synod,[22] because it was not held on the order of an emperor? What kind of canon declares that only those synods are approved which are convened on the order of emperors, or that generally speaking synods are convened at all on the order of an emperor? The devout canon of the church recognizes those synods as holy and approved which the correctness of their teaching approved. But also, as my master knows and teaches others, the canon[23] declares that synods be held twice each year in every province, making no mention of imperial order, with the purpose of preserving our saving faith and

διορθώσει πάντων τῶν ἀνήκοντων τῷ θείῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόμῳ κεφαλαίων."

Καὶ εἶπε Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· "Ὡς λέγεις ἐστίν· ἡ τῶν δογμάτων ὀρθότης ἐγκρίνει τὰς συνόδους· πλὴν οὐ δέχῃ τὸν λίβελλον Μηνᾶ, ἐν ᾧ μίαν θέλησιν καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδογμάτισε;"

Μάξιμος· "Μὴ δῷ Κύριος ὁ Θεός. Ὑμεῖς οὐ δέχεσθε, ἀλλ' ἐκβάλλετε πάντας τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον, τοὺς ἀγωνισαμένους κατὰ τῆς Σευήρου μιαρᾶς αἱρέσεως· κἀγὼ ἔχω δέξασθαι τὸν λίβελλον Μηνᾶ, τοῦ γεναμένου μετὰ τὴν σύνοδον, δι' οὗ συνηγορεῖ προφανῶς Σευήρῳ καὶ Ἀπολιναρίῳ καὶ Μακεδονίῳ καὶ Ἀρείῳ καὶ πάσῃ αἱρέσει, καὶ κατηγορεῖ τῆς συνόδου, μᾶλλον δὲ τελείως ἐκβάλλει, δι' ὧν ἐδογμάτισε;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί οὖν ὅλως οὐ δέχῃ μίαν ἐνέργειαν;"

Μάξιμος· "Καὶ τίς λέγει μίαν ἐνέργειαν τῶν ἐγκρίτων διδασκάλων;"

Καὶ ἤγαγε Θεοδόσιος τὰς ψευδωνύμους παρ' αὐτῶν φερομένας Ἰουλίου τοῦ Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ Γρηγορίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου τῶν ἁγίων χρήσεις, καὶ ἀνέγνω αὐτάς.

Καὶ εἶπε Μάξιμος· "Φοβηθῶμεν δὴ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ μὴ θελήσωμεν παροργίσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ παραγωγῇ τῶν αἱρετικῶν χρήσεων. Οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ ταύτας εἶναι τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἀπολιναρίου. Εἰ μὲν ἄλλας ἔχεις, δεῖξον· ἐπεὶ ταύτας προφέροντες, πλεῖον πείθετε πάντας, ὅτι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς καὶ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτῷ κακοδοξίαν ἀνενεώσατε."

Καὶ προφέρει ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος Θεοδόσιος ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου δύο χρήσεις, ἃς ἀναγνοὺς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος ἔφη· "Αὗται Νεστορίου εἰσὶ τοῦ νοσήσαντος ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τὴν προσωπικὴν δυάδα."

Καὶ εὐθέως θυμῷ ζέσας Θεοδόσιος εἶπε· "Κῦρι μοναχέ, ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐλάλησε διὰ τοῦ χαλινοῦ σου."

Μάξιμος· "Μὴ λυπηθῇ ὁ δεσπότης μου πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ." Καὶ λαβὼν εὐθέως ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τὰς αὐτὰς φωνὰς οὔσας Νεστορίου, καὶ ἐν ποίοις λόγοις αὐτοῦ κειμένας.

Θεοδόσιος· "Ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν, ἀδελφέ, τὰς χρήσεις ταύτας ὁ πατριάρχης μοι δέδωκε· πλὴν ἰδοὺ τὰς μὲν εἶπας Ἀπολιναρίου, τὰς δὲ Νεστορίου." Καὶ παραγαγὼν τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου χρῆσιν τὴν λέγουσαν· Μίαν τε καὶ συγγενῆ, δι' ἀμφοῖν ἐπιδεικνὺς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἶπε· "Τί πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεις;"

correcting all points which do not conform to the divine law of the church.'

And Bishop Theodosius said: 'It is as you say: it is the correctness of the teachings which approves synods. However, don't you accept the document of Menas, in which he propounds one will and one activity of Christ?'[24]

Maximus: 'Lord God forbid! You do not accept, but reject, all teachers after the holy synod at Chalcedon who struggled against the abominable heresy of Severus, and do I have to accept the document of Menas, who lived after the synod, by which he obviously supports Severus and Apollinaris and Macedonius and Arius and every heresy, and accuses the synod—I should say, he rejects it completely—by what he has propounded?'

Theodosius: 'How is it, then, that you don't accept one activity at all?'

Maximus: 'And which of the approved teachers speaks of one activity?'

And Theodosius adduced quotations which were falsely put forward by them as belonging to the saints, Julius of Rome and Gregory the Wonder-Worker and Athanasius, and he read them out.

And Maximus said: 'Let us now fear God, and not wish to provoke him in producing quotations from heretics. There is nobody who doesn't know that these come from the impious Apollinaris. But if you have others, show them, because by putting these ones forward you will persuade everyone the more that you have really suffered from the false opinion of the impious Apollinaris and those who are of like mind with him.'

And the same Bishop Theodosius put forward under the name of Chrysostom two quotations which Father Maximus recognized and said: 'These are from Nestorius who suffered from the duality of persons in Christ.'

And immediately, boiling with rage, Theodosius said: 'My lord monk, Satan has spoken through your mouth.'

Maximus: 'My master must not be upset with his servant.' And taking them he showed him immediately that the same words were of Nestorius, and in which of his speeches they occurred.

Theodosius: 'God knows, brother, that the patriarch gave me these quotations. But look, you said that some come from Apollinaris, others from Nestorius.' And producing the quotation from St Cyril which says: '*Demonstrating a single and cognate activity through each*',[25] he said: 'What do you say to this?'

Μάξιμος· "Εἰσὶ τινὲς δείξαντες αὐτὴν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν κατὰ προσθήκην τεθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τῇ γενομένῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου πατρός, ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Αἰλούρου. Ἔστω δὲ καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦ. Ἐξετάσωμεν τοίνυν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν πατρικῶν φωνῶν, καὶ γνωσόμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τοῦτο οὐ συγχωρῶ γενέσθαι· ἁπλᾶς γὰρ τὰς φωνὰς ἀνάγκην ἔχεις δέξασθαι."

Μάξιμος· "Εἰπέ μοι τὴν διαφοράν, παρακλήθητι, τῶν ἁπλῶν φωνῶν πρὸς τὰς ποικίλας."

Θεοδόσιος· "Ἵνα ὡς ἔστι δέξῃ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ μὴ ἐρευνήσῃς τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτῆς."

Καὶ εἶπε Μάξιμος· "Προφανῶς καινοὺς καὶ ξένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ τῶν φωνῶν εἰσάγετε νομούς. Εἰ καθ' ὑμᾶς οὐ δεῖ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς φωνὰς τῶν Γραφῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων, ἐκβάλλομεν πᾶσαν τὴν Γραφὴν τήν τε παλαιὰν καὶ τὴν καινήν. Ἤκουσα γὰρ λέγοντος τοῦ Δαυΐδ· Μακάριοι οἱ ἐξερευνῶντες τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ἐκζητήσουσιν αὐτόν·[s] ὡς μηδενὸς χωρὶς ἐρεύνης δυναμένου ἐκζητῆσαι τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ πάλιν· Συνέτισόν με, καὶ ἐξερευνήσω τὸν νόμον σου, καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου·[t] ὡς τῆς ἐρεύνης ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῆς γνώσεως πόθῳ πειθούσης τοὺς ἀξίους ἐκ καρδίας αὐτὸν φυλάξαι, διὰ τῆς πληρώσεώς τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένων ἁγίων ἐντολῶν. Καὶ πάλιν· Θαυμαστὰ τὰ μαρτύριά σου· διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηρεύνησεν αὐτὰ ἡ ψυχή μου.[u] Τί δὲ παραβολὰς καὶ αἰνίγματα καὶ σκοτεινοὺς λόγους[v] ἐρευνᾶν ἡμᾶς βούλεται ὁ παροιμιακὸς λόγος; Τί δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλῶν βούλεται νοεῖν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, διδάσκων τῶν παραβολῶν τὴν διάνοιαν;[w] Τί δὲ προστάσσων· Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς Γραφάς,[x] ὡς μαρτυρούσας περὶ αὐτοῦ; Τί δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρῶτος Πέτρος διδάσκειν βούλεται, Περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηρεύνησαν προφῆται[y] λέγων; Τί δὲ Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος λέγων· Εἰ κεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐστὶ κεκαλυμμένον ἐν οἷς ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ μὴ διαυγάσαι αὐτοῖς τὸν φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ;[z] Ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξομοιωθῆναι ἡμᾶς βούλεσθε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, οἵτινες ἁπλαῖς ταῖς φωναῖς, ὡς λέγετε, τουτέστι μόνῳ τῷ γράμματι ὥσπέρ τινι φορυτῷ ἐγχώσαντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐξέπεσαν τῆς ἀληθείας,

[s] Ps. 118: 2 [t] Ps. 118: 34 [u] Ps. 118: 129
[v] Prov. 1: 6 [w] Cf. Matt. 13: 18, Lk. 8: 11 [x] Jn. 5: 39
[y] 1 Pet. 1: 10 [z] 2 Cor. 4: 3–4

Maximus: 'There are those who show that this was placed, in fact, by Timothy Aelurus as an addition to the exegesis of the Gospel made by this holy Father.[26] But let it be Cyril's as you say. Let us, then, examine the meaning of the Father's words, and know the truth.'

Theodosius: 'I do not consent to this happening, for you have to accept the words as they are.'[27]

Maximus: 'Please tell me the difference between the words as they are and the words as they are embellished.'

Theodosius: 'That you accept the word as it is, and do not scrutinize its meaning.'

And Maximus said: 'Obviously in the case of words too you are introducing rules which are new and foreign to the church. If, according to you, one ought not scrutinize the words of Scripture and of the Fathers, we are rejecting all Scripture, both the old and the new. For I have heard David say: "*Blessed are those who scrutinize his testimonies; they seek him out with all their heart*", because nobody is able to seek out God without scrutiny. And again: "*Make me understand, and I will scrutinise your law, and I will guard it with all my heart*", because scrutiny leads to knowledge of the law, and through desire for knowledge persuades the just to guard it with their heart, by fulfilling the holy commandments which are contained in it. And again: "*Marvellous are your testimonies; this is why my soul has scrutinised them*". But why does the saying from Proverbs want us to scrutinize *parables* and *riddles* and *obscure sayings*? What did the Lord, speaking in parables, want his disciples to understand, when he taught them the meaning of the parables? Why did he give the order: "*Scrutinize the Scriptures*", on the grounds that they were testifying about him? What did Peter, the chief of the apostles, want to teach when he said: "*The prophets scrutinized and searched out concerning this salvation*"? Why did Paul, the divine apostle, say: "*If the Gospel is hidden, still it is hidden in those who perish, in whom the God of this age blinded the eyes of their understanding, so that the illumination of the knowledge of Christ would not shine on them*"? As it appears, you want us to be similar to the Jews who, with simple words, as you call them—that is, with the letter alone blocking their mind like rubbish—have lapsed from the truth, having a veil over their hearts so that they cannot understand the spirit which belongs, and is hidden, in the letter. About this spirit Paul says: "*The letter kills, but the spirit gives life*". May my master rest assured that I do not consent to accepting a word without the meaning which is contained in it, lest I become an obvious Jew.'

τὸ κάλυμμα ἔχοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, τοῦ μὴ νοῆσαι τὸ κύριον πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐγκεκρυμμένον τῷ γράμματι· περὶ οὗ φησί· Τὸ μὲν γράμμα ἀποκτέννει· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ.[a] Πληροφορηθῇ ὁ δεσπότης μου, ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀνέχομαι δέξασθαι φωνὴν χωρὶς τῆς ἐγκειμένης αὐτῇ διανοίας, ἵνα μὴ γένωμαι προφανὴς Ἰουδαῖος."

Θεοδόσιος τούτων ἀκούσας εἶπε· "Μίαν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποστατικὴν ὀφείλομεν λέγειν."

Μάξιμος· "Σκοπήσωμεν τὸ τικτόμενον ἐκ τούτου κακόν, καὶ φύγωμεν τὴν ξένην ταύτην φωνήν· μόνων γὰρ αἱρετικῶν πολυθεούντων ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ ὑποστατικὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγομεν τὴν μίαν ἐνέργειαν, οὐ συμβαίνει δέ ποτε κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ὁ Υἱός, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑποστατικὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἀναγκαζόμεθα δὲ ὥσπερ τῷ Υἱῷ, οὕτως καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ὑποστατικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀπονεῖμαι· καὶ καθ' ὑμᾶς τέσσαρας ἐνεργείας ἕξει ἡ μακαρία θεότης· τρεῖς ἀφοριστικὰς τῶν ἐν οἷς ἐστι προσώπων, καὶ μίαν κοινὴν σημαντικὴν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων κοινότητος· καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας, εἴπερ αὐτῶν δεχόμεθα τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τετραθεΐαν νοσήσομεν. Φυσικὴν γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὑποστατικὴν πᾶσαν εἶναι διαγορεύουσιν ἐνέργειαν. Καὶ εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθῶς, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔστιν, τέσσαρας φύσεις καὶ τέσσαρας φύσει θεούς, διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων ὑποστάσει τε καὶ φύσει δειχθησόμεθα λέγοντες. Πλὴν τίς εἶπεν ἢ ἐθεώρησεν ἰδιάζουσαν ἐνέργειαν οἱουδήποτε τῶν ὑπό τι εἶδος ἀναγομένων, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν κοινὸν ὁρισμὸν τοῦ εἴδους φύσει ταττομένων; Οὐδέποτε γὰρ γίνεται τὸ φύσει κοινόν, ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου τινὸς ἴδιον. Τὰ γὰρ ὑποστατικὰ σήμαντρα, οἷον γρυπότης, ἢ γλαυκότης, ἢ σιμότης, ἢ ψεδνότης, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἀφοριστικὰ εἰσὶ συμβεβηκότα τῶν ἀριθμῷ ἀλλήλων διαφερόντων. Πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς τί τὴν φύσιν ὤν, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὡς τίς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, πέφυκεν ἐνεργεῖν, κατά τε τὸν ἰδιαίτατα καὶ κοινῶς νοούμενόν τε καὶ λεγόμενον κατηγορικὸν λόγον, οἷον τὸ ζῶον τὸ λογικὸν τὸ θνητόν, ὅπέρ ἐστι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενικοῦ λόγου. Πάντες γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχομεν ζωῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λογικότητος, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ῥοῆς καὶ ἀπορροῆς, καὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι καὶ ἵστασθαι, καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ σιγᾶν, καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ἅπτεσθαι, ἅπέρ εἰσι τοῦ κοινῶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν νοουμένου λόγου. Οὐ δεῖ οὖν καινοτομεῖν φωνὰς μὴ ἐχούσας ἰσχὺν ἢ γραφικὴν ἢ πατρικὴν ἢ φυσικήν, ἀλλὰ ξένην, καὶ διαστροφαῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐξηυρημένην. Πλὴν δεῖξόν μοι ταύτην κειμένην

[a] 2 Cor. 3: 6

On hearing this, Theodosius said: 'We ought to speak of one hypostatic activity in Christ.'

Maximus: 'Let us consider the evil which is engendered by this, and let us avoid this strange expression, for it is the property solely of heretics who worship many gods. I mean that if we call the one activity in Christ hypostatic, although the Son is not ever similar to the Father and the Spirit with regard to hypostasis, it is clear that [the Son is not similar] either with regard to the hypostatic activity. We will be forced to attribute hypostatic activities both to the Father and the Spirit in the same way as to the Son, and, according to you, the blessed godhead will have four activities, three distinguishing ones of the persons in which it is, and one common one signifying the community which is of three hypostaseis according to nature; and according to the Fathers, if indeed we accept their teaching, we will be suffering from the sickness of a fourfold God.[28] I say this because they declare every activity to be natural, not hypostatic. And if this is true, as indeed it is, we will be shown to be speaking of four natures and four gods by nature, different from each other in both hypostasis and nature. However, who has spoken of or contemplated a peculiar activity of any object at all among those that are grouped in a certain category, and arranged by nature under a common definition of the category? For it never happens that what is common by nature is proper to any one sole individual. I mean that hypostatic indicators, such as a beaked nose, or dull eyes, or a snub nose, or baldness, and all such characteristics, are defining incidentals of things which differ from each other in number. I mean that every person, in so far as he is something by nature, but not in so far as he is someone by hypostasis, is disposed to have an activity, according to the categorical rationale which is both individually and communally understood and spoken of as well, like the rational, mortal living being which is characteristic of the generic rationale in us. I mean that we all share the same life and the same capacity for reason, and the same ebb and flow, and [the capacity] to sit and to stand, and to speak and to be silent, and to see and to hear and to touch, which are characteristic of the rationale commonly understood in us. Therefore we should not coin words which do not have the force either of Scripture or of the Fathers or of nature, but are foreign and invented by human wiles. However, show me that this is found in any one Father, and again we shall seek out what the one who used this expression intended.'

Theodosius: 'How can you say that? Shouldn't one speak at all of one activity in Christ?'

οἱῳδήποτε πατρί, καὶ πάλιν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ ταύτην εἰρηκότος ἐπιζητοῦμεν."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τί οὖν; Οὐ δεῖ παντελῶς ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ λέγειν μίαν ἐνέργειαν;"

Μάξιμος· "κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Γραφὴν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγειν παρελάβομεν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δύο φύσεις τὸν Χριστὸν τὰς ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς αὐτοῦ θελήσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας καταλλήλους αὐτῷ, ὁμοῦ τε φύσει Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι τῷ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἐπετράπημεν."

Θεοδόσιος· "Ὄντως, δέσποτα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ διαφόρους ἐνεργείας, τουτέστιν, θείαν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην· καὶ θελητικὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ θελητικὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἄνευ θελήσεως ἦν ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. Δύο δὲ οὐ λέγομεν, ἵνα μὴ μαχόμενον αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἰσαγάγωμεν."

Μάξιμος· "Τί οὖν; Δύο φύσεις λέγοντες, μαχομένας αὐτὰς εἰσάγετε διὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Οὔ."

Μάξιμος· "Τί οὖν; Φύσεσιν ἐπιφημιζόμενος ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὐ διαιρεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θελήσεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν λεγόμενος, διαιρέσεως ἔχει δύναμιν;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Πάντως ἐπὶ τούτων διαίρεσιν ἔχει καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἀριθμὸν ἐπὶ θελήσεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν οὐκ εἶπον, φεύγοντες τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην, καὶ θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην, διπλῆν, διττήν· καὶ ὡς εἶπαν λέγω, καὶ ὡς εἰρήκασι λέγω."

Μάξιμος· "Διὰ τὸν Κύριον, ἐάν τις σοι εἴπῃ 'ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην', πόσας νοεῖς; ἢ 'θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην', πόσας νοεῖς; ἢ 'διπλῆν' ἢ 'διττήν', πόσας νοεῖς;"

Θεοδόσιος· "Οἶδα πῶς νοῶ, δύο δὲ οὐ λέγω."

Τότε στραφεὶς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶπε· "Διὰ τὸν Κύριον, ἐὰν ἀκούσητε μίαν καὶ μίαν, καὶ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην, ἢ δὶς δύο, ἢ δὶς πέντε, τί νοοῦντες τοῖς λέγουσιν ἀποκρίνεσθε;"

Καὶ εἶπαν· "Ἐπειδὴ ὥρκισας ἡμᾶς, τὸ μίαν καὶ μίαν, δύο νοοῦμεν· καὶ τὸ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην, δύο νοοῦμεν· καὶ τὸ δὶς δύο, τέσσαρα νοοῦμεν· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ δὶς πέντε, δέκα."

Καὶ ὥσπερ αἰδεσθεὶς Θεοδόσιος τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐκείνων εἶπε· "Τὸ μὴ εἰρημένον τοῖς πατράσιν, οὐ λέγω."

Καὶ λαβὼν εὐθέως ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος τὴν βίβλον τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς συνόδου Ῥώμης, ἔδειξε τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὰς δύο θελήσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ Σωτῆρος

Maximus: 'In accordance with holy Scripture and with the holy Fathers we have undertaken to say nothing like that, but just as we have been ordered to believe and confess Christ as two natures from which he is, so too [have we been ordered to confess] his natural wills and activities which are appropriate to him, because the same one *is* by nature both God and human at the same time.'

Theodosius: 'Truly, master, we too confess both the natures and different activities, that is to say, both the divine and the human, and we confess that his divinity has a will, and his humanity has a will, because his soul was not without a will. But we do not speak of two, lest we introduce him as being at war with himself.'

Maximus: 'How can you say that? When you speak of two natures, do you introduce them as being at war on account of their number?'

Theodosius: 'I don't.'

Maximus: 'How can you say that? Is it the case that the number assigned to the natures doesn't divide them, but, when it is spoken of with regard to wills and activities, it has the force of division?'

Theodosius: 'Assuredly it maintains division in these cases, and the Fathers did not speak of number in the case of wills and activities, because they avoided division, but they spoke of one and another one, and divine and human, double, twofold; and as they spoke, I speak, and as they said, I speak.'

Maximus: 'By the Lord, if someone says to you "one and another one", how many do you understand? Or "divine and human", how many do you understand? Or "double or twofold", how many do you understand?'

Theodosius: 'I know how I understand, but I don't say that it's two.'

Then turning to the rulers, Father Maximus said: 'By the Lord, if you hear one and one, and one and another one, or twice two, or twice five, from your understanding what answer would you give to those who said this?'

And they said: 'Since you are adjuring us, we understand by one and one, two, and we understand by one and another, two, and we understand by twice two, four. Similarly also we understand by twice five, ten.'

And Theodosius, made afraid as it were by their answer, said: 'What was not said by the Fathers, I do not say.'

And at once, taking the book of the Acts of the holy and apostolic synod of Rome,[29] Father Maximus showed that the holy

ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διαρρήδην λέγοντας· ἣν λαβὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Θεοδόσιος ὁ ὕπατος, ἀνέγνω πάσας τὰς χρήσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων.

Καὶ τότε ἀποκριθεὶς Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· "Ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι προσωπικῶς τὰ ἀναθέματα τέθεικεν ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη, πλεῖον παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐδεχόμην αὐτήν. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ χρονοτριβῶμεν ἐνταῦθα, εἴ τι εἶπαν οἱ πατέρες, λέγω, καὶ ἐγγράφως εὐθέως ποιῶ, δύο φύσεις, καὶ δύο θελήσεις, καὶ δύο ἐνεργείας· καὶ εἴσελθε μεθ' ἡμῶν κοινωνήσον, καὶ γένηται ἕνωσις."

Μάξιμος· "Δέσποτα, ἐγὼ οὐ τολμῶ δέξασθαι συγκατάθεσιν παρ' ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον περὶ τοιούτου πράγματος, ψιλὸς ὑπάρχων μοναχός· ἀλλ' ἐπὰν κατένυξεν ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός, τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων δέξασθαι φωνάς, καθὼς ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ κανών, πρὸς τὸν Ῥώμης περὶ τούτου ἐγγράφως ἀποστείλατε, ἤγουν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν σύνοδος. Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτων γινομένων κοινωνῶ, ἀναφερομένων τῶν ἀναθεματισθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς. Φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὸ κατάκριμα τοῦ ἀναθέματος."

Θεοδόσιος· "Ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν, οὐ καταγινώσκω σου φοβουμένου, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἄλλος τις. Ἀλλὰ δὸς ἡμῖν βουλὴν διὰ τὸν Κύριον, ἐὰν ἔστι τοῦτο δυνατὸν γενέσθαι."

Μάξιμος· "Ποίαν βουλὴν ἔχω ὑμῖν περὶ τούτου δοῦναι; Ὑπάγετε, ψηλαφήσατε ἐάν τι τοιοῦτον γέγονέ ποτε, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἀπελύθη τίς τοῦ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐγκλήματος, καὶ τοῦ ἐξενεχθέντος κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματός τε καὶ κατακρίματος· καὶ καταδέξηται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης μιμήσασθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν συγκατάβασιν· καὶ ποιήσωσιν, ὁ μὲν κέλευσιν παρακλητικήν, ὁ δὲ συνοδικὴν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Ῥώμης· καὶ πάντως εἴπερ εὑρεθείη τρόπος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς τοῦτο ἐπιτρέπων, διὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως συμβιβάζεται ὑμῖν περὶ τούτου."

Θεοδόσιος· "Τοῦτο πάντως γίνεται· ἀλλὰ δός μοι λόγον ὅτι, ἐὰν ἐμὲ πέμπωσιν, ἔρχῃ μετ' ἐμοῦ."

Μάξιμος· "Δέσποτα, συμφέρει σοι τὸν σύνδουλόν μου τὸν ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ λαβεῖν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἤπερ ἐμέ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν οἶδε, καὶ αἰδοῦνται αὐτὸν ἀξίως, τοσούτους χρόνους κολαζόμενον διά τε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν κρατοῦσαν ὀρθὴν πίστιν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς θρόνῳ."

Θεοδόσιος· "Ἀψιμαχίας διαφόρως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔσχομεν, καὶ οὐχ' ἡδέως ἔχω μετ' ἐκείνου ἀπελθεῖν."

Μάξιμος· "Δέσποτα, ἐπὰν ἔδοξε τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἔκβασις γένηται τῶν δοξάντων· καὶ ὅπου κελεύετε, ἀκολουθῶ ὑμῖν."

Fathers spoke openly of the two wills and activities in our Saviour and God Jesus Christ. Taking the book from him, the consul Theodosius read out all the quotations from the holy Fathers.

And then in answer Bishop Theodosius said: 'God knows that, if this synod had not put anathemata on their persons, I would have accepted it more than anyone. But so that we don't waste time on this point, whatever the Fathers said, I say, and I will immediately declare in writing two natures and two wills and two activities. And enter into communion with us and let there be unity.'

Maximus: 'Master, I do not dare to receive a written agreement from you on a matter of this kind, being a mere monk. But seeing that God has stirred you to accept the expressions of the holy Fathers, as the canon demands,[30] you must make a written dispatch on this matter to the see of Rome, that is to say, the emperor and the patriarch and his synod. I say this because I will not communicate even when these measures have been taken, so long as the men who have been anathematized are mentioned in the holy anaphora,[31] because I am afraid of being condemned by anathema.'

Theodosius: 'God knows, I don't blame you for being afraid, and nor does anyone else. But advise us by the Lord whether this can be done.'

Maximus: 'What kind of advice do I have to give to you on this? Go, find out if anything of this kind has ever happened, and after death anyone was absolved of a crime involving the faith, and if both the crime and the punishment were lifted from him. And let the emperor and the patriarch be willing to imitate God's condescension, and let the former make a supplicatory rescript[32] and the latter an entreaty by synodical letter to the pope of Rome. And of course, if an ecclesiastical precedent is found which enjoins this because of the correct profession of the faith, the conclusion will be drawn for you on this point.'

Theodosius: 'Of course this will be done. But give me your word that, if they send me, you'll come with me.'

Maximus: 'Master, [if] it is expedient for you, take with you my fellow-servant who is in Mesembria, rather than me: he knows the language too, and they will respect him as he deserves for the fact that he was tortured for so many years both on account of God and the right faith, which is upheld in their see.'

Theodosius: 'We have quarrelled in various ways with each other, and I don't like the idea of going with him.'

Maximus: 'Master, seeing that a decision has been made to do this,

Καὶ ἐπὶ τουτοῖς ἀνέστησαν πάντες μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων· καὶ ἔβαλον μετάνοιαν, καὶ εὐχὴ γέγονε· καὶ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια Εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης παναγίας Θεοτόκου ἠσπάσαντο, τεθεικότες καὶ τὰς ἰδίας χεῖρας ἐπὶ βεβαιώσει τῶν λαληθέντων.

§5. *Εἶτα μικρὸν ὁμιλήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν βίου, καὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν τηρήσεως, στραφεὶς Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον εἶπεν· "Ἰδοὺ πάντα διαλέλυται τὰ σκάνδαλα, καὶ γέγονεν εἰρήνη διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γενήσεται· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν Κύριον μὴ κρύψῃς με· οὐ λέγεις καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον μίαν θέλησιν καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ;"*

Μάξιμος· "Οὐκ ἐνδέχεταί με τοῦτο ποτὲ εἰπεῖν. Καὶ λέγω τὴν αἰτίαν· ἐπειδὴ ξένη ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, δύο φύσεων διαφόρων μίαν λέγειν θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν. Εἶτα δὲ καὶ διὰ παντὸς τρόπου ὁ τοῦτο λέγων εὑρίσκει εὐθυβόλως ὑπαντῶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτοπίαν. Ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπω φυσικήν, φοβοῦμαι τὴν σύγχυσιν· ἐὰν εἴπω ὑποστατικήν, διαιρῶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ τρεῖς θελήσεις εἰσάγων φανήσομαι, μὴ συμβαινούσας ἀλλήλαις, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ὑποστάσεις· ἐὰν εἴπω τὴν ὡς ἑνὸς μίαν θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, ἀναγκάζομαι καὶ τὴν ὡς ἑνὸς τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ τὴν ὡς ἑνὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰπεῖν, κἂν μὴ θέλω, θέλησιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, καὶ εὑρεθήσεται εἰς πολυθεΐαν ἐκπίπτων ὁ λόγος· ἐὰν εἴπω σχετικήν, τὴν Νεστορίου εἰσάγω προσωπικὴν διαίρεσιν· ἐὰν εἴπω παρὰ φύσιν, φθείρω τὴν ὕπαρξιν τοῦ θέλοντος· φθορὰ γὰρ τῇ φύσει, τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστί, καθὼς οἱ πατέρες εἰρήκασι."

Θεοδόσιος· "Μίαν διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θέλησιν, πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως ὀφείλομεν λέγειν, καθάπερ καὶ Σέργιος καὶ Πύρρος, ὡς οἶμαι, καλῶς νενοηκότες γεγράφασι."

Μάξιμος· "Εἰ κελεύεις δέσποτα, δέξαι μου περὶ τούτου δύο ῥητά. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καθάπερ Σέργιος καὶ Πύρρος καὶ Παῦλος γεγράφασι, γέγονε θέλησις, ἑτεροθελὴς κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Υἱὸς ἔσται τῷ Πατρὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, κατὰ τὸν Υἱὸν ἔχοντι θέλησιν, εἴπερ οὐ ταυτόν ἐστιν ἕνωσις καὶ φύσις. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία κατ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γέγονε θέλησις, αἰτίαν αὐτῆς ἕξει πάντως τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδετέραν τῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐστι φύσιν· καὶ σχέσεως κατ' αὐτοὺς ἔσται προδήλως ἡ θέλησις, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεως·

let there be an end to imputations. And I will follow you wherever you command.'

And at these words they all stood up with tears of joy, and knelt down and prayed; and each of them kissed the holy Gospels and the precious cross, and the icon of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of Our Lady, the most holy Mother of God who bore him, signing with their own hands, no less, in ratification of the discussions.

§5. Then, when they had engaged briefly in mutual discussion regarding the life which is led according to God, and the observance of the divine commandments, Bishop Theodosius turned to Father Maximus and said: 'Look, all the scandals are resolved, and peace has been made through God, and it will continue. But by the Lord, don't keep me in the dark: don't you say in any way at all that there is one will, one activity in Christ?'

Maximus: 'It is impossible for me ever to say this. And I'll tell you the reason: because it is a saying foreign to the holy Fathers to speak of one will and activity of two different natures. But then too in every way the person who makes this statement will find that absurdity meets him head on. For if I say that [the will and activity] are natural, I am afraid of confusing them. If I say that they are hypostatic, I divide the Son from the Father and the Spirit, and I will appear to be introducing three wills which are incongruent with each other, as is the case too with the hypostaseis. If I say that the one will and activity are as of one being, I am forced, even though I do not wish it, to speak of the will and activity as of one Father and as of one Spirit, and the expression will be found to have slipped into a multitude of gods. If I say that they are dispositional, I introduce Nestorius' division of persons. If I say that they are beyond nature, I corrupt the existence of the will; for what is beyond nature is a corruption to the nature, as the Fathers said.'[33]

Theodosius: 'On account of the union, in every way and in all ways we ought to speak of the will of our Saviour as one, as both Sergius and Pyrrhus, in my opinion, wrote with correct understanding.'

Maximus: 'If you command it, master, let me say a couple of words on this point. If, because of the union, one will of God and our Saviour was effected, as Sergius and Pyrrhus and Paul wrote, the Son will be of a different will,[34] according to them, from the Father, who has a will in conformity with the Son, because of nature but not because of the union, if indeed union and nature are not the same

σχέσιν γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσιν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἕνωσιν ἐπίσταται λόγος. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ὡς ἔφασαν, μία τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γεγένηται θέλησις, ποίᾳ θελήσει φασὶν αὐτὴν γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἕνωσιν; Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τῇ δι' αὐτὴν γενομένῃ φαῖεν ἂν ἀληθείας φροντίζοντες, καὶ τὸ παράλογον φεύγοντες. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία τοῦ Σωτῆρος γεγένηται θέλησις, δῆλον ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως, ἢ πολυθελὴς ἦν ἢ παντελῶς ἀθελής. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πολυθελὴς ἦν, μείωσιν τῶν πολλῶν, πρὸς μίαν συσταλείς ὑπέμεινεν θέλησιν, καὶ τροπῆς προφανῶς ἐδέξατο πάθος, τὴν τῶν προσουσῶν αὐτῷ φυσικῶς πολλῶν θελήσεων μείωσιν. Εἰ δὲ παντάπασιν ἦν ἀθελής, κρείττονα τῆς φύσεως ἀπέφηνεν οὖσαν τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἐξ ἧς ἐπορίσατο θέλησιν, ἣν ἡ φύσις ἠπόρησε· καὶ πάλιν τρεπτὸς ἀναπέφηνε, τὸ μὴ τῇ φύσει προσὸν αὐτῷ, σχέσει κτησάμενος. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καθ' ἕκατερον τῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐστι γέγονε θέλησις, πρόσφατος γέγονε τῇ θελήσει Θεός, ὁ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῇ φύσει μένων ἀΐδιος, καὶ ἄναρχος ἄνθρωπος τῇ θελήσει, μένων τῇ φύσει πρόσφατος, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον, ἵνα μὴ λέγω δυσσεβές. Εἰ διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία τῶν φύσεων γέγονε θέλησις, τί δήποτε διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν μία τῶν φύσεων οὐ γεγένηται φύσις;"

§6. *Καὶ διακόψας ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῦ λόγου φορὰν Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· "Τί τοίνυν διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν γέγονεν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται δι' αὐτήν;"*

Μάξιμος· "Ἔνσαρκον ἔδειξεν ἀψευδῶς γεγονότα τὸν ἄσαρκον· αὐτὸν τὸν φύσει Θεὸν καὶ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν, φύσει γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἀριδήλως παρέστησεν, οὐ τροπῇ φύσεως, ἢ μειώσει τινὸς τῶν τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖ προσλήψει νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης σαρκός, ἤγουν ἀνελλιποῦς ἀνθρωπότητος, παντὸς προπατορικοῦ καθαρᾶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐγκλήματος, καὶ τῷ κατ' ἐπαλλαγὴν λόγῳ, τὸ θαυμάσιον ὄντως καὶ πᾶσι κατάπληκτον, ὅλον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Θεὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ὁλόκληρον μένοντα τῶν ἰδίων ἐντός, ὅλον ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν ὁλοκλήρως μένοντα τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέκπτωτον. Περιχώρησις γὰρ εἰς ἀλλήλας τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῶν αὐταῖς προσόντων φυσικῶν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεηγόρων ἡμῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ μεταχώρησις ἢ μετάπτωσις διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν γέγονεν, ὅπερ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῶν σύγχυσιν κακούργως ποιουμένων τὴν ἕνωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς καινισμοῖς πολυτρόπως ἐμφυρομένων, καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν τῆς τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς λόγου σταθερότητος διωκόντων τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς."

thing. If, because of the union, one will, according to them, of our Saviour was effected, indeed it will have as its cause the union and not either nature of those out of which he exists, and the will will clearly be dispositional, according to them, but not natural; for the rationale of truth understands the union as being dispositional, but not natural.[35] If, because of the union, as they said, one will of our Saviour was effected, by which will do they say the union was effected? For they will certainly not say by that will which was effected through the union, if they pay attention to truth and avoid what is irrational. If, because of the union, one will of the Saviour was effected, it is clear that before the union he either had many wills or was completely without will. And if indeed he had many wills, he sustained the diminution of many wills, contracting them into one will, and he obviously accepted the experience of change, [namely] the diminution of the many wills which belonged to him by nature. But if he was altogether without will, he revealed that the union was stronger than the nature, through which union he acquired a will which the nature lacked; and again he showed plainly that he was changeable, acquiring by disposition what did not belong to him by nature. If, because of the union, one will of our Saviour was effected according to each of those out of which he exists, he was made God, new in will, the same being remaining eternal in nature on account of the union, and [he was made] a human being without a beginning in will, remaining new in nature, which is impossible, not to mention impious. If, because of the union, one will was effected in the natures, why do you suppose that one nature was not effected of the natures by the same cause?'

§6. And having exhausted the force of his argument in this debate on these points, Bishop Theodosius said: 'What, then, *was* effected because of the union, if none of these possibilities came about through it?'

Maximus: 'It demonstrated that the one who had been without flesh was enfleshed without deception; it proved distinctly that he was God by nature and creator of all, having become a human being by nature, not by a change of nature or by a diminution of any of what belongs to nature, but by the true assumption of rationally ensouled flesh, that is to say, not lacking in humanity, pure from all charge of original sin according to nature, and, by reason of the mutual interchange—which is truly marvellous and astonishing to everyone—wholly God in his human [properties], remaining entirely the same

§7. *Ὧν ἀκούσας Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔδοξε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων, τὸ λεχθὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Μάξιμόν φησί· "Ποίησον ἀγάπην· τί ἐστιν ὅπερ εἶπας ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὡς τίς τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τί τὴν φύσιν ἐνεργεῖ; προσίσταται γάρ μοι μὴ νοήσαντι τὸ λεχθέν."*

Μάξιμος· "Οὐδεὶς ὡς τίς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐνεργεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς τί τὴν φύσιν· οἷον Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ Πετρικῶς καὶ Παυλικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπικῶς· ἄμφω γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φυσικῶς κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν καὶ ὁριστικὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὑποστατικῶς κατὰ τὸ ἰδίως ποιόν. Ὡσαύτως Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Μιχαηλιτικῶς ἢ Γαβριηλιτικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀγγελικῶς· ἄμφω γὰρ ἄγγελοι. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πάσης φύσεως, πολλῶν τῷ ἀριθμῷ κατηγορουμένης, κοινήν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠτομωμένην τὴν ἐνέργειαν θεωροῦμεν. Οὐκοῦν ὁ λέγων ὑποστατικὴν ἐνέργειαν, αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν μίαν οὖσαν, ἄπειρον ταῖς ἐνεργείαις εἰσάγει γεγενημένην, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἀναγομένων ἀτόμων ἑαυτῆς διαφέρουσαν· ὅπερ εἰ δεξόμεθα καλῶς ἔχειν, πάσῃ φύσει τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ πῶς εἶναι λόγον συνδιαφθείρομεν."

§8. *Καὶ τούτων εἰρημένων, ἐν τῷ ἀσπάζεσθαι ἀλλήλους, εἶπε Θεοδόσιος ὁ ὕπατος· "Ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καλῶς· ἆρα καταδέχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς παρακλητικὴν ποιῆσαι κέλευσιν;"*

Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος· "Πάντως ποιεῖ, ἐὰν θέλῃ μιμητὴς εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ συνταπεινωθῆναι καὶ συγκενωθῆναι[b] *αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν, λογιζόμενος ὡς εἴπερ ὁ φύσει σώζων Θεὸς οὐκ ἔσωσεν ἕως ἐταπεινώθη θέλων, πῶς ὁ φύσει σωζόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ἢ σωθήσεται ἢ σώσει μὴ ταπεινούμενος;"*

Καὶ εἶπε Θεοδόσιος ὁ ὕπατος ὅτι "Ἐλπίζω τοῦ Θεοῦ σώζοντός μοι τὴν μνήμην, τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον λέγω, καὶ πείθεται." Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους, ἀπῆλθον μετ' εἰρήνης, δεδωκότος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῷ ἀββᾷ Μαξίμῳ τὸ πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ ποσὸν οἰκτρόν, καὶ στιχάριν καὶ καμάσιν· καὶ τὸ μὲν στιχάριν εὐθέως καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν ἐπῆρεν ὁ Βιζύης ἐπίσκοπος. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ῥηγίῳ οὐ τὸ δοθὲν αὐτῷ ποσὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δήποτε ἐξ εὐποιΐας εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν οἰκτρῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐσθημάτων, ἀφείλαντο.

[b] Cf. Phil. 2: 8, 7

within his own [properties], wholly human in his divine [properties], remaining entirely [the same], not lapsing from his own [properties]. For according to the teaching of our holy Fathers, who speak of God, through the union there occurred a mutual interpenetration of the natures and of the natural properties in them, but not a transfer or a lapse, which is characteristic of those who maliciously make the union a confusion,[36] and on that account they mix it up with innovations in many ways, and because of the difficulty they have in remaining steadfast in their argument, they persecute the orthodox.'

§7. When Bishop Theodosius heard this, it seemed that he and the rest of those who had come with him accepted what had been said. And again the same bishop said to Father Maximus: 'Do me a favour! What is it you said to us—nobody as far as he is a person acts hypostatically, but as far as he is something acts naturally? For it occurs to me that I didn't understand what was said.'

Maximus: 'Nobody as a person acts hypostatically, but as something acts naturally. For example, Peter and Paul act, but not in a Peter-like and Paul-like manner, but in a human manner: they are both human beings by nature according to the common and definitive principle of nature, but not hypostatically according to what each does personally. Similarly, Michael and Gabriel act, but not in a Michael-like and Gabriel-like manner, but in an angelic manner: they are both angels. And so in every nature predicated in a great number of persons we observe activity that is common, but not individualized. So the one who speaks of a hypostatic activity introduces that very nature, although it is one, as made infinite in its activities, differing from itself according to the number of elements which are brought under it. If we accept that this is alright, we corrupt at the same time the principle of how every nature exists in itself.'

§8. And when this was said, while they were embracing each other the consul Theodosius said: 'Look, everything has turned out well. Is the emperor then expected to make a supplicatory rescript?'[37]

And Father Maximus said: 'Of course he will do so, if he wishes to be an imitator of God and to be humbled and emptied with him for the sake of the common salvation of us all, considering that if the God who saves by nature did not save until he was humbled willingly, how can the human being, who by nature needs to be saved, either be saved or save when he has not been humbled?'

And Theodosius the consul said: 'I hope that, if God prompts my

§9. *Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας, τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς παρούσης πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐξῆλθεν αὖθις Παῦλος ὁ ὕπατος ἐν Βιζύῃ πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον, κέλευσιν ἐπιφερόμενος περιέχουσαν κατὰ τόνδε τὸν τύπον· "Κελεύομεν τῇ σῇ ἐνδοξότητι ἀπελθεῖν ἐν Βιζύῃ, καὶ ἀγαγεῖν Μάξιμον τὸν μοναχὸν μετὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς καὶ κολακείας, διά τε τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν προγονικὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ γενόμενον αὐτοῖς τίμιον· καὶ θέσθαι τοῦτον ἐν τῷ εὐαγεῖ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, τῷ διακειμένῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ῥηγίου· καὶ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ μηνύσαι ἡμῖν, καὶ πέμπομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ προσώπου ἡμῶν δύο πατρικίους, ὀφείλοντας αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι τὰ παραστάντα ἡμῖν, φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ψυχικῶς, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν φιλουμένους· καὶ ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι ἡμῖν τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ." Ἀγαγὼν τοίνυν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποθέμενος ὁ αὐτὸς ὕπατος ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι μοναστηρίῳ, εἰσῆλθε μηνῦσαι.*

§10. *Καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐξέρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐπιφάνιος καὶ Τρωΐλος οἱ πατρίκιοι μετὰ πολλῆς περιβολῆς καὶ φαντασίας, καὶ Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἀνέρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ κατηχουμενείῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς· καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἀσπασμοῦ γενομένου, ἐκάθισαν, βιασάμενοι καὶ αὐτὸν καθίσαι.*

Καὶ ἀπαρξάμενος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγου Τρωΐλος εἶπεν· "Ὁ δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς σὲ γενέσθαι, καὶ λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ αὐτοῦ θεοστηρίκτῳ κράτει. Ἀλλ' εἰπὲ ἡμῖν πρῶτον· ποιεῖς τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἢ οὐ ποιεῖς;"

Μάξιμος εἶπε· "Δέσποτα, ἀκούσω τί ἐκέλευσε τὸ εὐσεβὲς αὐτοῦ κράτος, καὶ δεόντως ἀποκρίνομαι· ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀγνοούμενον μοι, ποίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἔχω δοῦναι;"

Τρωΐλος δὴ ἐπέμενε λέγων· "Οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ὅτι λέγομεν τί ποτε, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον εἴπῃς εἰ ποιεῖς, ἢ οὐ ποιεῖς τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ βασιλέως."

Καὶ ὡς εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐνισταμένους ἐπὶ πλεῖον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναβολῇ αὐτοῦ πικρότερον βλέποντας, καὶ τραχύτερον ἀποκρινομένους μετὰ πάντων τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιώμασι κοσμικοῖς ἐπηρμένων, ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος εἶπεν· "Ἐπὰν οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε εἰπεῖν τῷ δούλῳ ὑμῶν τὰ παραστάντα τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ, ἰδοὺ λέγω, ἀκούοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, ὅτιπερ εἴ τι δήποτε κελεύσει μοι περὶ οἱουδήποτε πράγματος τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ συγκαταλυομένου καὶ συμφθειρομένου, προθύμως ποιῶ."

memory, I will say the same to him and he will be persuaded.' And when after these words they had embraced each other, they departed in peace, after the bishop had given Father Maximus a pitiful amount of money which had been sent to him, and a tunic and a cloak. And the bishop of Bizya took away the tunic immediately and at the same moment. While in Rhegium they took away not only the money which had been given him, but also anything else at all he possessed as a result of receiving alms, together with his remaining pitiable effects and clothing.

§9. After the men I have mentioned departed, on eighth day of September in the current fifteenth indiction, the consul Paul went out again to Father Maximus in Bizya, taking with him an order comprising the following formula: 'We order Your Gloriousness to go to Bizya, and to bring back Maximus the monk with much honour and coaxing, both because of his age and infirmity, and the fact that he is our ancestor, and was honoured among them. And put him in the holy monastery of St Theodore, which is situated near Rhegium.[38] And come and inform us, and we shall send to him as our representatives two patricians who must declare to him what we commend, because they love us sincerely and are beloved by us. And they must come and announce to us his arrival.' When, then, the consul himself had brought him and put him in the said monastery, he went back to announce it.

§10. And on the following day the patricians Epiphanius and Troilus[39] went out to him enveloped in great ostentation, and also Bishop Theodosius, and they came up to him in the catechumens' place in the church of the same monastery. And when they had given the customary greeting they sat down, forcing him to sit too.

And opening the discussion with him, Troilus said: 'The master of the world has ordered us to come to you and to tell you what His divinely established Power has decided. But tell us first—will you do what the emperor orders, or not?'

Maximus said: 'Master, I will hear what His pious Power has ordered, and I will reply as necessary, because what kind of reply can I give to what I don't know?'

But Troilus persisted, saying: 'It's not possible for us to say anything at all, unless you say first whether you will or won't do what the emperor orders.'

And when he saw them more insistent, and glaring at him more

Καὶ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς Τρωΐλος εἶπεν· "Εὔξασθέ μοι, ἐγὼ ὑπάγω· οὗτος γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιεῖ."

Καὶ πολλοῦ πάνυ γενομένου θορύβου, καὶ πολλῆς ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· "Εἴπατε αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ γνῶτε τί λαλεῖ· ἐπεὶ τὸ οὕτως εἰσελθεῖν μηδὲν εἰρηκότας καὶ μηδὲν ἀκούσαντας, οὐκ ἔστιν εὔλογον."

Καὶ τότε Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ πατρίκιος εἶπε· "Τοῦτό σοι δηλοῖ δι' ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγων· Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἡ δύσις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ διαστρέφοντες εἰς σὲ θεωροῦσι, καὶ πάντες διὰ σὲ στασιάζουσι, μὴ θέλοντες συμβιβασθῆναι ἡμῖν περὶ τὴν πίστιν· κατανύξει σε ὁ Θεὸς κοινωνῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθέντι Τύπῳ, καὶ ἐξερχόμεθα ἡμεῖς δι' ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν Χαλκῆν, καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθά σε, καὶ ὑποτιθέμεθα ὑμῖν τὴν χεῖρα ἡμῶν, καὶ μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ δόξης εἰσάγομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἱστῶμεν ἐν ᾧ κατὰ συνήθειαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἵστανται, καὶ ποιοῦμεν ἅμα τὴν σύναξιν, καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἅμα τῶν ἀχράντων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀνακηρύττομέν σε πατέρα ἡμῶν, καὶ γίνεται χαρὰ οὐ μόνον τῇ φιλοχρίστῳ καὶ βασιλίδι ἡμῶν πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς ὅτι σοῦ κοινωνοῦντος τῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἐνταῦθα θρόνῳ, πάντες ἑνοῦνται ἡμῖν, οἱ διὰ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀποσχίσαντες τῆς κοινωνίας ἡμῶν."

§11. Καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος μετὰ δακρύων εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Κῦρι ὁ μέγας, ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἐκδεχόμεθα πάντες. Οἶδας τὰ τυπωθέντα, καὶ δόξαντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων Εὐαγγελίων καὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μητρός."

Καὶ βαλὼν κάτω τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἠπιωτέρᾳ τῇ φωνῇ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Καὶ τί ἔχω ἐγὼ ποιῆσαι, ἐπὰν ἕτερόν τι παρέστη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ;"

Καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος· "Καὶ διὰ τί ἥψω τῶν ἁγίων Εὐαγγελίων, καὶ οἱ μετὰ σοῦ, οὐκ οὔσης ἐφ' ὑμῖν τῆς τῶν λαληθέντων ἐκβάσεως; Ὄντως πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν τοῦτο οὐ πείθει με ποιῆσαι. Τί γὰρ ἀπολογήσομαι, οὐ λέγω τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐμῷ συνειδότι, ὅτι διὰ δόξαν ἀνθρώπων, τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν λόγῳ μηδεμίαν ἔχουσαν ὕπαρξιν, τὴν σώζουσαν τοὺς στέργοντας αὐτὴν πίστιν ἐξωμοσάμην;"

vindictively because of his delay, and answering more harshly, together with all those who were with them, and [when he saw] that they themselves were distinguished in public offices, Father Maximus said in reply: 'Seeing that you refuse to tell your servant what commends itself to our master the emperor, look, I say in the hearing of God and the holy angels, and all of you, that whatever he orders of me concerning any matter whatsoever which will be destroyed and brought to nothing with this age, I will do readily.'

And Troilus got up immediately and said: 'Pray for me, I'm going—he's doing nothing.'

And when an exceedingly great tumult ensued, and great disturbance and confusion, Bishop Theodosius said to them: 'Tell him the answer and see what he says, for to leave like this, having said nothing and heard nothing, is not reasonable.'

And then Epiphanius the patrician said: 'It is this that the emperor makes clear to you through us, with the words: "Since all the West and those in the East who are causing subversion look to you, and they all stir up strife because of you, refusing to be reconciled with us in the cause of faith, may God compel you to enter into communion with us on the terms of the *Typos* which was published by us, and we will go out of our own accord to the Chalke,[40] and we will embrace you, and we will lay our hands on you, and with every mark of honour and glory we will lead you into the Great Church. And together we will stand where the emperors stand by custom, and together we will celebrate the synaxis, and together we will partake of the pure and life-giving mysteries of the life-giving body and blood of Christ, and we will proclaim you as our father; and there will be joy not only in our royal city which loves Christ, but also in the whole world. For we know with certainty that when you are in communion with the holy see of those here,[41] all those who, on account of you and your teaching, were separated from our communion will be united with us." '

§11. And turning to the bishop, Father Maximus said to him tearfully: 'Great lord, we all await the day of judgement. You know what has been prescribed and decided with reference to the holy Gospels and the life-giving cross, and the image of our God and Saviour, and of the most holy ever-virgin mother who bore him.'

And bending down the bishop said to him in a gentler voice: 'And what am I able to do, seeing that something else occurred to the most orthodox emperor?'

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀναστάντες, θυμοῦ στρατηγήσαντος πάντας αὐτούς, τιλμοῖς καὶ ὠθισμοῖς καὶ σφαιρισμοῖς παρέλυσαν αὐτόν, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ὀνύχων κατακλύσαντες αὐτὸν πτύσμασιν· ὧνπερ, μέχρις ἂν ἐπλύθησαν ἅπερ περιεβέβλητο ἱμάτια, διεπνέετο ὁ βρόμος.

Καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· "Οὕτως οὐκ ἔδει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκοῦσαι μόνον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν τῷ ἀγαθῷ. Τὰ γὰρ κανονικὰ πράγματα ἑτέρῳ διοικοῦνται τρόπῳ."

§12. *Καὶ μόλις πείσας αὐτοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἡσυχάσαι, πάλιν ἐκάθισαν, καὶ μυρίαις ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀραῖς ἀνεπινοήτοις μωμώσαντες αὐτόν, μετὰ θυμοῦ πόλλου καὶ τραχύτητος εἶπεν Ἐπιφάνιος· "Εἰπέ, κακέσχατε φαγοπόλιε, ὡς αἱρετικοὺς ἔχων ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τούτους εἶπας τοὺς λόγους; Ὄντως πλεῖον σου Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμὲν καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι· καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔχειν καὶ θεϊκὴν θέλησιν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην θέλησιν, καὶ νοερὰν ψυχήν· καὶ ὅτι πᾶσα νοερὰ φύσις πάντως ἔχει τὸ θέλειν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ζωῆς ἴδιον ἡ κίνησις, καὶ νοῦ ἴδιον ἡ θέλησις. Καὶ θελητικὸν αὐτὸν οἴδαμεν, οὐ θεότητι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς δύο θελήσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργείας οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα."*

Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος εἶπεν· "Ἐὰν οὕτω πιστεύετε, καθὼς αἱ νοεραὶ φύσεις καὶ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία, πῶς με καταναγκάζετε κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Τύπῳ, τῷ μόνην τὴν τούτων ἔχοντι ἀναίρεσιν τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν ὁμολογηθέντων;"

Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐπιφάνιος· "Δι' οἰκονομίαν τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἵνα μὴ βλαβῶσιν οἱ λαοὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις λεπτοτέραις φωναῖς."

Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος εἶπε· "Τουναντίον πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἁγιάζεται διὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὁμολογίας τῆς πίστεως, οὐ μὴν διὰ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ Τύπῳ κειμένης."

Καὶ εἶπε Τρωΐλος· "Καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ εἶπον σόι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλὰ κατασιγασθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωμεν πάντες."

Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος εἶπεν· "Ἡ σιγὴ τῶν λόγων, ἀναίρεσις τῶν λόγων ἐστί. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Οὐκ εἰσὶ λαλιαὶ οὐδὲ λόγοι, ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.[c] *Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὴ λαλούμενος λόγος, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐστί."*

[c] Ps. 18:4

And Father Maximus said to him: 'And why did you and those with you swear on the holy Gospels, when in your case you did not fulfil what was said? Truly, all the power in heaven could not persuade me to do this. For what reason should I give—I don't say to God, but to my conscience—for having denied the faith which saves those who cherish it, on account of human glory which has no substance according to its rationale?'

And at these words, when rage had overpowered them all, they got up, and disabled him by repeatedly pulling and shoving and hustling him, saturating him from head to toe by their spitting. Until the garments which he wore were washed, the stench that they gave off was pervasive.

And the bishop got up and said: 'You shouldn't have done this, but only heard his answer from him and gone and announced it to our good master: canonical matters are settled in another way.'

§12. And when with difficulty the bishop had persuaded them to be quiet, they sat down again, and, disparaging Maximus with countless outrageous remarks and unthinkable curses, Epiphanius said with great rage and harshness: 'Tell us, you utter villain, you hoary old glutton—did you say these words because you consider us and our city and the emperor as heretics? In reality we are more Christian and orthodox than you, and we confess that our Lord and God has both a divine will and a human will and a rational soul, and that every rational nature is certainly able to will and to have an activity out of its nature, because motion is characteristic of life, and will is characteristic of intellect. And we are acquainted with the fact that he possessed a will, not only with respect to divinity but also with respect to humanity. In fact we don't deny that he has two wills and activities.'

And in reply Father Maximus said: 'If you believe as rational natures and the church of God do, how is it that you are forcing me to enter into communion on the terms of the *Typos* which contains only the abrogation of what you profess?'

And Epiphanius said: 'It was on account of an arrangement that this happened, lest the laity be harmed by too subtle words of this kind.'

And in reply Father Maximus said: 'On the contrary, each person is sanctified by the scrupulous confession of the faith, not through the abrogation of it, which is found in the *Typos*.'

And Troilus said: 'I said to you in the palace as well that it did not

Καὶ εἶπε Τρωΐλος· "Ἔχε ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὡς θέλεις· οὐδείς σε κωλύει."

Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος· "Ἀλλ' οὐ περιώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ τὴν ὅλην σωτηρίαν εἰπών· Ὁ μὴ ὁμολογῶν με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ἐγὼ ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.[d] *Καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει λέγων· Καρδίᾳ μὲν πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην· στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν.*[e] *Εἰ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ προφῆται καὶ ἀπόστολοι κελεύουσιν ὁμολογεῖσθαι τὸ μυστήριον φωναῖς ἁγίων, τὸ μέγα καὶ φρικτὸν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου σωτήριον, οὐκ ἔστι χρεία οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ κατασιγασθῆναι τὴν τοῦτο κηρύττουσαν φωνήν, ἵνα μὴ μειωθῇ τῶν σιγώντων ἡ σωτηρία."*

Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς τραχυτάτῳ λόγῳ Ἐπιφάνιος εἶπεν· "Ὑπέγραψας ἐν τῷ λιβέλλῳ;"

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος· "Ναί, ὑπέγραψα."

"Καὶ πῶς ἐτόλμησας," εἶπεν, "ὑπογράψαι, καὶ ἀναθεματίσαι τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ πιστεύοντας ὡς αἱ νοεραὶ φύσεις καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία; Ὄντως τῇ ἐμῇ κρίσει εἰσάγομέν σε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἱστῶμεν εἰς τὸν φόρον δεδεμένον, καὶ τοὺς μίμους καὶ τὰς μιμάδας καὶ τὰς προεσταμένας πόρνας καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν φέρομεν, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ ἑκάστη καὶ ῥαπίσῃ καὶ ἐμπτύσῃ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου."

Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη ὁ ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος· "Ὡς εἴπατε γένηται, ἐὰν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐξ ὧν ὁ Κύριός ἐστι, καὶ τὰς καταλλήλους αὐτῷ δύο φυσικὰς θελήσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας Θεῷ φύσει κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὄντι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀνεθεματίσαμεν. Ἀνάγνωθι, δέσποτα, τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὸν λίβελλον, καὶ ἐὰν ὡς εἴπατε εὕρητε, ποιήσατε ὅπερ βούλεσθε. Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοί μου καὶ ὅσοι ὑπέγραψαν, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἄρειον καὶ Ἀπολινάριον μίαν θέλησιν καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν λέγοντας, ἀνεθεματίσαμεν, καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν ἐξ ὧν, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἅπέρ ἐστι, φύσει νοερόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατ' ἄμφω θελητικὸν καὶ ἐνεργητικὸν τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας."

Καὶ λέγουσιν· "Ἐὰν τούτῳ συναπαχθῶμεν, οὔτε τρώγομεν, οὔτε πίνομεν· ἀλλὰ ἀναστῶμεν, καὶ ἀριστήσωμεν, καὶ εἰσέλθωμεν καὶ εἴπωμεν ἅπερ ἠκούσαμεν. Οὗτος γὰρ πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σατανᾷ."

[d] Matt. 10: 32 [e] Rom. 10: 10

abrogate but ordered silence, in order that we might all enjoy peace.'

And in reply Father Maximus said: 'The silencing of words is the abrogation of words: through the prophet the Holy Spirit says: "*There are no speeches nor words of which their voices will not be heard.*" Therefore the word which is not uttered, in no way exists.'

And Troilus said: 'Believe in your heart as you wish—nobody is preventing you.'

And Father Maximus said: 'But God did not enclose all salvation in the heart, when he said: "*The one who does not confess me before human beings, neither shall I confess him before my Father who is in heaven.*" And the divine apostle teaches with the words: "*One believes in the heart for justification, but confession is made with the mouth for salvation.*" If, therefore, God and the prophets and apostles of God order the verbal confession of the mystery of holy things, which is great and fearful, and for the salvation of the whole world there is no need in any way to silence a word which proclaims this, lest the salvation of those who are silent be diminished.'

And in reply Epiphanius said in very harsh terms: 'Have you put your signature to the document?'[42]

And Father Maximus said: 'Yes, I have put my signature to it.'

'And how', he said, 'did you dare to put your signature to it, and to anathematize those who confess and believe as rational natures and the catholic church do? Truly, in my judgement we will bring you into the city, and we will tie you up and stand you in the forum, and we will bring actors and actresses and prostitutes who stand in public, and the entire populace, so that every man and every woman may slap you and spit in your face.'

And to this Father Maximus said in reply: 'Let it be done as you have said, if we have anathematized those who confess the two natures from which the Lord is, and congruent with him, who is God by nature in truth, and human, the two natural wills and activities. Read out, master, the acts and the document, and if you find it as you said, do what you like. After all, I and my fellow-servants and everyone who put their signature to it anathematized those who speak of one will and one activity, following Arius and Apollinaris, and not those who confess our Lord and God according to each of the natures out of which, and in which, and which he is, to be rational in nature, and for that reason according to both [natures] to will and work for our salvation.'

And they said: 'If we get carried away on this point we will neither eat nor drink. Instead, let's get up and have lunch, and go in

Καὶ ἀναστάντες ἠρίστησαν· καὶ εἰσῆλθον μετ᾽ ὀργῆς, τῇ παραμονῇ τῆς ὑψώσεως τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ.

§13. *Καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς ἕωθεν ἐξῆλθε Θεοδόσιος ὁ ὕπατος πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον, καὶ ἀφεῖλατο πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι "Οὐκ ἠθέλησας τιμήν, καὶ ἐμακρύνθη ἀπὸ*[f] *σοῦ. Καὶ ὕπαγε ὅπου ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἔκρινας εἶναι, ἔχων τὸ κρῖμα τῶν μαθητῶν σου, τοῦ τε ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Περβέροις, τοῦ γενομένου νοταρίου τῆς μακαρίας ἡμῶν μάμμης." Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι, τούτεστι Τρωΐλος καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος εἰρηκότες ὅτι "Πάντως φέρομεν καὶ τοὺς δύο σου μαθητάς, τόν τε ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ τὸν ἐν Περβέροις, καὶ δοκιμάζομεν καὶ αὐτούς, καὶ βλέπομεν καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔκβασιν." Πλὴν ἵνα οἶδας, κῦρι ἀββᾶ, ὅτι μικρὰν ἄνεσιν ἐὰν λάβωμεν ἐκ τῆς συγχύσεως τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἁρμόσασθαι ὑμῖν ἔχομεν, μὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, καὶ τὸν πάπαν τὸν νῦν ἐπαίρομεν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε λαλοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς σου μαθητάς, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς χωνεύομεν, ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδείῳ αὐτοῦ τόπῳ, ὡς ἐχωνεύθη Μαρτῖνος." Καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ ῥηθεὶς ὕπατος Θεοδόσιος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν στρατιώταις, καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως Σαλαμβρίας.*

§14. *Καὶ ἔμειναν ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας, ἕως οὗ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ φοσσάτον ὁ εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ εἶπεν ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ ὅτι "Ὁ μοναχὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν τὴν Θεοτόκον ὧδε ἔρχεται." Τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκασιν ἵνα κινήσωσι τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου, ὡς βλασφημοῦντος τὴν Θεοτόκον. Καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἐπανελθὼν ὁ στρατιώτης, ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, καὶ κατανυγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ στρατηγός, ἤγουν ὁ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ἔπεμψεν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς προβεβηκότας τῶν βάνδων, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς σιγνοφύλακας.*

Οὓς ἰδὼν παραγενομένους ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἀββᾶς Μάξιμος, ἐγερθεὶς ἔβαλε μετάνοιαν· καὶ ἀντέβαλον κἀκεῖνοι, καὶ ἐκάθισαν, κελεύσαντες καὶ αὐτῷ καθίσαι. Καί τις πάνυ γέρων τίμιος εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐλαβείας· "Πάτερ, ἐπειδὴ ἐσκανδάλισαν ἡμᾶς τινὲς εἰς τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην, ὡς οὐ λέγεις Θεοτόκον τὴν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν τὴν παναγίαν παρθένον, ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀποτρίψασθαι τῶν καρδιῶν ἡμῶν τοῦτο τὸ σκάνδαλον, ἵνα μὴ βλαπτώμεθα ἀδίκως σκανδαλιζόμενοι."

[f] Ps. 108: 17

and say what we have heard. For this fellow has sold himself to Satan.'

And they got up and had lunch. And they went in angrily to the vigil of the exaltation of the precious and life-giving cross. [43]

§13. And on the next day at dawn, the consul Theodosius went out to Father Maximus whom I have spoken of, and took away all his possessions, saying to him as the emperor's representative: 'You *refused* honour, *and it has been removed* from you. And go where you judged you would be worthy, bearing the sentence of condemnation passed on your disciples, both the one in Mesembria and the one in Perberis,[44] who was the notary of our blessed grandmother.'[45] But there were also the patricians, namely Troilus and Epiphanius, who said: 'We will of course produce your two disciples as well, both the one in Mesembria and the one in Perberis, and we will try them too, and we will see the result in their case also. But so that you may know, lord Father, that if we have a short respite from the confusion of the people, by the holy Trinity, we will refrain from accommodating ourselves to you, and we will remove the present pope and all people who speak there,[46] and the rest of your disciples, and we will put all of you to the test by fire, each in his own place, as Martin was put to the test by fire.' And the consul Theodosius, whom I have mentioned, took him and handed him over to the soldiers, and they led him as far as Selymbria.[47]

§14. And they stayed there for two days, until one of the soldiers reached the camp and told the entire army: 'The monk who blasphemes against the Mother of God is on his way here.' But they did this to incite the army against Father Maximus, whom I have spoken of, on the grounds that he blasphemed against the Mother of God. And after two days the soldier came back and took him to the camp, and the general, stirred by God, that is to say, the acting general,[48] sent to him the leaders of the garrison,[49] priests and deacons and devout keepers of the colours.[50]

When Father Maximus, whom I have mentioned, saw them arrive, he stirred himself and knelt, and they too knelt in their turn, and they sat down, ordering him to sit down as well. And a certain exceedingly old, honourable man said to him with great reverence: 'Father, because certain people have caused a scandal for us against Your Holiness, saying that you do not call Our Lady the most holy Virgin, the Mother of God, I adjure you through the holy and consubstantial

Καὶ βαλὼν μετάνοιαν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ δακρύων εἶπεν· "Ὁ μὴ λέγων τὴν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν τὴν πανύμνητον καὶ παναγίαν ἄχραντον, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ φύσει τῇ νοερᾷ σεπτήν, φυσικὴν ἀληθῶς μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην, τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς,[g] *ἔστω ἀνάθεμα καὶ κατάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ὑπερουσίου Τριάδος, καὶ πάσης ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἀπείρου δήμου τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τετελειωμένου, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν."*

Καὶ κλαύσαντες πάντες, ηὔξαντο αὐτῷ λέγοντες· "Ὁ Θεὸς ἐνδυναμώσει σε, πάτερ, καὶ ἀξιώσει σε ἀπρόσκοπον τελειῶσαι τὸν δρόμον[h] *τοῦτον."*

Καὶ τούτων εἰρημένων ἠθροίσθησαν πολλοὶ στρατιῶται, πολλῶν καλῶν κινηθέντων λόγων ἀκροώμενοι· καὶ θεωρήσας τίς τῶν δομεστίκων τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὅτι πολὺς ἐπισωρεύεται στρατὸς καὶ οἰκοδομεῖται, καὶ καταγινώσκει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν γινομένων, τί ὑπονοήσας ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν, ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνάρπαστον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ βληθῆναι ἀπὸ δύο μιλίων τοῦ φοσσάτου, ἕως ἂν τὴν σύναξιν ποιήσωσι, καὶ ἔλθωσιν οἱ ὀφείλοντες ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν Περβέροις. Πλὴν ὅτι θείᾳ κινούμενοι ἀγάπῃ οἱ κληρικοὶ ἐπέζευσαν τὰ δύο μίλια, καὶ ἦλθον, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο αὐτόν, καὶ ηὔξαντο αὐτῷ· καὶ χερσὶν ἰδίαις βαστάσαντες ἐπέθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κτῆνος, καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηνέχθη ἐν Περβέροις ἐν τῇ συνεχούσῃ αὐτὸν φρουρᾷ.

§15. *Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ ἀποτεινόμενος Τρωΐλος πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον εἶπεν, ὡς ὁ κονσιλιάριος Ἰωάννης ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ περὶ συμβάσεως προταθείσης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀρεσάσης αὐτοῖς· "Κἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τέως, ἡ τῶν σῶν μαθητῶν ἀταξία διεκώλυσεν." Οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔγραψεν ὁ εἰρημένος κονσιλιάριος Ἰωάννης πρὸς τὸν Τρωΐλον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Μηνᾶν τὸν μοναχόν, κἀκεῖνος λοίπον εἶπε τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου.*

§16. *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ ἐποίησαν κατ' αὐτῶν πρᾶξιν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναθεματίσαι καὶ ἀνασκάψαι αὐτούς, τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Μάξιμον καὶ τὸν μακάριον Ἀναστάσιον τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ, τόν τε ἁγιώτατον πάπαν Μαρτῖνον, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον*

[g] Ex. 20: 11, Ps. 145: 6, Acts 4: 24, etc. [h] 2 Tim. 4: 7

Trinity to tell us the truth, and to turn away this scandal from our hearts, so that we don't suffer harm because we have been wrongfully scandalized.'

And after kneeling, he stood up, and stretching out his hands to heaven he said tearfully: 'The one that does not say that Our Lady, who is worthy of all praise and most holy, inviolate, and venerable to every rational creature, was truly made the natural Mother of God *who made heaven and earth and the sea, and everything which is in them*, let him be anathema and katathema from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the consubstantial and supra-essential Trinity, and from every power in heaven, and from the choir of the holy apostles and prophets, and the innumerable crowd of the holy martyrs, and from every spirit perfected in justice, now and always and forever and ever, amen.'

And they all wept and prayed for him, saying: 'May God strengthen you, Father, and make you worthy to *complete* this *course* without stumbling.'

And when this had been said, many soldiers gathered to hear the many positive words which were exchanged. And when one of the general's body-guards[51] observed that much of the army was crowding up and being edified, and criticizing what was happening to Maximus, he, suspecting God knows what, commanded Maximus to be taken off and put two miles away from the camp until they had celebrated the synaxis, and those who were to take him away to Perberis had come. Except that the clerics were moved by divine love and went the two miles on foot, and came and greeted him and prayed for him, and carrying him in their arms, they put him on a beast and returned in peace to their own places. And Maximus was led off to Perberis under constant guard.

§15. And this should be known: that in Rhegium Troilus said with reference to Father Maximus that John the *consiliarius* [52] had written to him[53] concerning an agreement which had been offered to them[54] and was acceptable to them, 'although in the meantime the disorder among your disciples prevented this from happening.' But I think that John the *consiliarius*, whom I have mentioned, did not write to Troilus but to the monk Menas,[55] and it was he who reported it in turn to those in the palace.[56]

§16. And after[57] this they took them to Constantinople and took action against them, and after anathematising and cursing them, St

Σωφρόνιον τὸν πατριάρχην Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους καὶ σύμφρονας αὐτῶν, ἤνεγκαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον μακάριον Ἀναστάσιον, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναθέμασι καὶ ὕβρεσι χρησάμενοι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, παρέδωκαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰπόντες οὕτως· "Σὺ μὲν οὖν Ἀναστάσιε, τὸ φαιὸν τῆς πανδήμου τῶν ἀναθεμάτων τῆς ἀρᾶς ἐνδυσάμενος περιβόλαιον, ἀπαλλάσσου τῆς κανονικῆς ἀκροάσεως, πρὸς ἣν ἠρετίσω στάσιν τῆς γεέννης ἀποφερόμενος, συνούσης ἡμῖν τῆς εὐκλεοῦς καὶ πάντα συνδιαιτησάσης τιμίας τε καὶ ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου, παραχρῆμα τὴν μεθ' ἡμᾶς παραληψομένης κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δοκοῦντα νόμοις ἐπὶ σοὶ διαπραξομένης, ὡς αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσοιεν, τῶν τηλικούτων σου βλασφημιῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τυραννίδων."

§17. *Ψῆφος γ' κατ' αὐτῶν.*

Τῆς παρούσης συνόδου, καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, κανονικῶς ψηφισαμένης τὰ δέοντα καθ' ὑμῶν, Μάξιμε, Ἀναστάσιε καὶ Ἀναστάσιε, ἐπεὶ τὸ λεῖπον ὑπῆρχε πρὸς τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν λεχθέντα τε δυσσεβῶς καὶ πραχθέντα, ταῖς αὐστηραῖς τῶν νόμων καθυποβληθῆναι ποιναῖς, εἰ καὶ ἀξία ποινὴ τῶν τοιούτων ὑμῶν πλημμελημάτων καὶ βλασφημιῶν οὐχ' ὕπεστι, τῷ δικαίῳ ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς μείζονος καταλιπόντες κριτῇ,[1] *νόμων κενοῦντες ἀκρίβειαν, κερδαινόντων ὑμῶν τὸ ζῆν, ψηφιζόμεθα, τὸν παρόντα ἡμῖν πανεύφημον ἔπαρχον, αὐτίκα παραλαμβάνοντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιαρχικῷ πραιτωρίῳ, νεύροις τὰ μετάφρενα τύπτοντα Ἀναστάσιον καὶ Ἀναστάσιον, τὸ ὄργανον τῆς ὑμῶν Μαξίμου καὶ Ἀναστασίου ἀκολασίας, τουτέστι τὴν βλάσφημον ὑμῶν γλῶσσαν, ἔνδοθεν ἐκτεμεῖν· εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διακονήσασαν τῷ βλασφήμῳ ὑμῶν λογισμῷ σκαιοτάτην δεξιὰν σιδήρῳ διατεμεῖν, περιαχθησομένων ἅμα στερήσει τῶν αὐτῶν βδελυκτῶν μελῶν, τὰ δυοκαίδεκα τμήματα ταύτης τῆς κυρίας τῶν πόλεων περινοστεῦσαι, ἀειφυγίᾳ τε καὶ φυλακῇ προσεπιτούτοις διηνεκεῖ παραδοῦναι ὑμᾶς, πρὸς τὸ μετέπειτα ὑμᾶς καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν χρόνον τὰ οἰκεῖα οἰμώζειν βλάσφημα σφάλματα, τῆς ἐπινοηθείσης καθ' ἡμῶν ἀρᾶς περιτραπείσης τῇ ὑμῶν κεφαλῇ.*

Παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ κολάσας ἔτεμε τὰ μέλη αὐτῶν· καὶ περιαγαγὼν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐξώρισεν αὐτοὺς ἐν Λαζικῇ.

[1] Cf. 2 Tim. 4: 8

Maximus and blessed Anastasius his disciple, and the most holy Pope Martin, and holy Sophronius the patriarch of Jerusalem, and all the orthodox and those who shared their opinion, they brought the other blessed Anastasius as well, and employing the same anathemata and insults against him too, they handed him over to the rulers with these words: 'Therefore you, Anastasius, because you have put on the grey[58] shroud of the anathemata and curse of the entire populace, depart from the canonical hearing, in whose eyes you have been carried off and have chosen the sedition of hell. The honourable senate which is esteemed and holy acts with us and decides with us in every matter; it will immediately accept our verdict and will carry out in your regard what is decided by the laws of the city, as they themselves approve, because of the enormity of your acts of blasphemy and rebellion.'

The Third Sentence against them[59]

§17. 'The present synod, with the assistance of the all-powerful Christ and true God, has passed the appropriate canonical sentence on you, Maximus, Anastasius, and Anastasius. It was already in store for you, in view of what had been said and done impiously by you, that you would be subjected to the harsh penalties of the law in the present life—even though a just penalty does not exist for the kinds of trespasses and blasphemies you have committed; we leave you to the just judge with regard to the greater penalty—and on the question of penalty we have exhausted the precision of the law, [and] are sparing your life. We have passed sentence that the all-praiseworthy eparch who is with you is to take you immediately to the praetorium where he rules over many.[60] And when he has flogged[61] Anastasius and Anastasius he is to cut out from inside your mouth the organ of your licentiousness, Maximus and Anastasius, that is your blaspheming tongue. Then he is to sever with his sword your sinister right hand because it ministered to your blasphemous argument. When you have been led around after the amputation of your abominable limbs, he is to walk around the twelve sections of this sovereign city,[62] and to hand you over to lifelong exile and, what is more, permanent custody, so that afterwards and for every year of your lives you will bewail your own blasphemous errors, and the curse which you contrived against us is turned upside down on your head.'

The eparch took them, then, and punished them by cutting their limbs. And after leading them around the entire city, he sent them out into exile in Lazica.

EP. MAXIMI AD ANASTASIUM MONACHUM DISCIPULUM (*CPG* 7701)

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου πρὸς Ἀναστάσιον μονάζοντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητήν.

Χθὲς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός, ἥτις ἦν ἁγία μεσοπεντηκοστή, ὁ πατριάρχης ἐδήλωσέ μοι λέγων· "Ποίας ἐκκλησίας εἶ; Βυζαντίου; Ῥώμης; Ἀντιοχείας; Ἀλεξανδρείας; Ἱεροσολύμων; Ἰδοὺ πᾶσαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὰς ἐπαρχιῶν ἡνώθησαν. Εἰ τοίνυν εἶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἑνώθητι, μήπως ξένην ὁδὸν τῷ βίῳ καινοτομῶν, πάθῃς ὅπερ οὐ προσδοκᾷς."

Πρὸς οὓς εἶπον· "Καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ σωτήριον τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως ὁμολογίαν, Πέτρον μακαρίσας ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν καλῶς ὡμολόγησεν, ὁ τῶν ὅλων εἶναι Θεὸς ἀπεφήνατο.[a] *Πλὴν μάθω τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐφ' ἣν πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν γέγονεν ἡ ἕνωσις, καὶ τοῦ γενομένου καλῶς οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦμαι."*

Καὶ φασίν· "Κἂν οὐκ ἔχωμεν περὶ τούτου κέλευσιν, λέγομεν, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι σε παντελῶς ἀπροφάσιστον. Δύο λέγομεν ἐνεργείας διὰ τὴν διαφοράν, καὶ μίαν διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν."

"Τὰς δύο διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μίαν φατὲ γενομένας ἢ παρὰ ταύτας", εἶπον, "ἑτέραν."

"Οὔ" φασιν, "ἀλλὰ τὰς δύο μίαν διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν."

"Ἀπηλλάγημεν πραγμάτων" ἔφην, "ἑαυτοῖς ἀνυπόστατον πίστιν καὶ Θεὸν ἀνύπαρκτον πλάσαντες· εἰ γὰρ εἰς μίαν συγχέομεν τὰς δύο διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ πάλιν εἰς δύο διαιροῦμεν τὴν μίαν διὰ τὴν διαφοράν, οὐκ ἔσται μονὰς οὔτε δυὰς ἐνεργειῶν, ἀλλήλαις ἀναιρουμένων ἀεί, καὶ ποιουσῶν ἀνενέργητον τὸν ᾧ προσπέφυκαν καὶ παντελῶς ἀνύπαρκτον· τὸ γὰρ μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἐκ φύσεως ἀναφαίρετον καὶ μηδενὶ λόγῳ τροπῆς ἀλλοιουμένην καὶ μεταπίπτουσαν κίνησιν, πάσης οὐσίας ἐστέρηται κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας,

Witnesses: *A MS RXG p*

[a] Cf. Matt. 16: 17

LETTER OF MAXIMUS TO ANASTASIUS, HIS DISCIPLE (*CPG* 7701)

The same Father St Maximus, to the monk Anastasius, his disciple.

Yesterday, the eighteenth of the month, which was holy Mid-Pentecost,[1] the patriarch[2] sent me a message,[3] saying: 'What church do you belong to? Constantinople? Rome? Antioch? Alexandria? Jerusalem? See, all of them are united, together with the provinces subject to them.[4] If, therefore, you belong to the catholic church, be united, lest perhaps you devise a strange path by your way of life and you suffer what you don't expect.'

I said to them: 'The God of all pronounced that the catholic church was the correct and saving confession of the faith in him when he called Peter blessed because of the terms in which he had made proper confession of him. But let me learn the confession on which the unity of all the churches was effected, and if it was effected properly I shall not be estranged from it.'

And they said: 'Although we don't have an order concerning this matter, we will speak, because you have become completely inexcusable. We say two activities because of the difference, and one because of the union.'

'Do you say that the two became one because of the union, or is there another activity besides these?' I asked.

'No,' they said. 'Rather the two became one because of the union'.

'We have departed from the facts,' I said, 'by inventing for ourselves a faith without substance and a God without existence. For if we confuse the two into one because of the union, and again we separate the one into two because of the difference, there will not be a unity nor a duality of activities, because they are forever separated from each other and render him, to whom they belong, incapable of activity and completely non-existent. I say this because what by nature has no movement which cannot be taken away, or change its

οὐκ ἔχον ἐνέργειαν οὐσιωδῶς αὐτὸ χαρακτηρίζουσαν· τοῦτο λέγειν οὐ δύναμαι, οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὁμολογεῖν· τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν οὖσιν ἐξουσιασταῖς ποιήσατε."

"Οὐκοῦν ἄκουσον" ἔφησαν· "ἔδοξε τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ τῷ πατριάρχῃ διὰ πραικέπτου τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης ἀναθεματισθῆναί σε μὴ πειθόμενον, καὶ τὸν ὁριζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπενέγκασθαι θάνατον."

"Τὸ τῷ Θεῷ πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος ὁρισθὲν ἐν ἐμοὶ δέξοιτο πέρας, φέρον αὐτῷ δόξαν πρὸ παντὸς ἐγνωσμένην αἰῶνος", αὐτοῖς τούτων ἀκούσας ἀπεκρινάμην.

Καὶ πρὸς τὸ γνῶναί σε, καὶ προσθήκην εὐχῆς τῷ Θεῷ ποιήσασθαι καὶ δεήσεως, ἐμφανῆ σοι τὰ δηλωθέντα πεποίηκα, παρακαλῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ θείῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ σὺν αὐτῷ πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἁγίοις γνώριμα καταστῆσαι ταῦτα, τῆς αὐτῆς χάριν αἰτίας.

Anastasius. Haec iussit mihi transcribere et nota facere sanctissimis uobis, quo | et ex his motione comperta, communem omnes pro communi matre nostra, catholica uidelicet ecclesia, et nobis indignis seruis uestris afferatis Domino precem, ad roborandum omnes et nos quoque, in illa uobiscum perseuerantes secundum pie in ipsa praedicatam a sanctis patribus [h]o⟨r⟩thodoxam fidem. Magnus enim in toto mundo timor habetur, cum haec persecutionem consonanter ab omnibus patiatur, nisi sua gratia consuete pr⟨a⟩estet auxilium is qui semper auxiliatur, semen pietatis saltem seniori Romae relinquens, nobis non mentientem ad apostolorum habitam principem repromissionem suam confirmans.[b]

[b] Cf. Lk. 22: 32, Matt. 16: 18

position in any way, or decay, is devoid of all substance, according to the Fathers, because it does not have an activity essentially characterizing it.[5] I cannot say this, nor have I been taught to confess it by the holy Fathers. Do what you think fit, because you are invested with authority.'

'Listen, then,' they said. 'The master[6] and the patriarch have decided, following an instruction[7] from the pope of Rome, that you will be anathematised if you do not obey, and that you will be sentenced to the death they have determined.'

'May what has been determined by God before every age receive its end, bringing to him glory which has been known before every age,' I answered when I heard this.

And so that you might know [this], and increase your prayer and petition to God, I have made plain to you the messages that were sent, beseeching that you make these matters known to the divine Lord[8] and to our holy Fathers who are there with him, for the same reason.[9]

Anastasius ordered me to transcribe these things and to make them known to you most holy people, in order that, when you have found out about the trial from these, you might all bring a common prayer to the Lord on behalf of our common mother, that is the catholic church, and on behalf of us your unworthy servants, for strengthening everyone and us also, persevering with you in it, according to the orthodox faith rightly preached in it by the holy Fathers. For there is great fear in the whole world because this [church] endures persecution by everyone at the same time, unless he offers aid by his customary grace, he who always comes to aid, leaving the seed of piety at least in older Rome, confirming the promise he made to the prince of apostles, which[10] does not deceive us.

EPISTULA ANASTASII AD MONACHOS CALARITANOS (*CPG* 7725)

Eiusdem sancti Anastasii monachi discipuli sancti abbatis Maximi, ad commune monachorum apud Caralim constitutorum collegium.

§1. Multa scribere nos etiam praeter uotum tempus prohibuit, omnia uero in uno nota facimus uerbo sanctissimis uobis. Hi qui alterius sunt partis, diffinitione immobili ut est, et propriae maxime professionis constitui paternam non malunt doctrinam, sed alternis impelluntur opinionibus quas et dinumerare operosum de cetero duco. Modo ergo ab inexistentia ad inconuenientiam translati sunt, id est ex eo quod neque unam neque duas dicunt, ad praedicandum duas et unam, id est tres in uno eodemque Christo uoluntates et operationes traducti, quod neque patrius, neque synodicus, neque physicus sermo decreuit, sed neque priscorum et deinceps hereticorum furor eatenus adinuenit, sciens inanem tanquam uitio proprio corruptam eandem opinionem.

§2. Si enim diuersae ex diuersis compositum substantiis charactirizant naturaliter proprietates, utpote nullatenus adempta naturarum diuersitate propter unitionem, sed salua potius proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam personam et unam subsistentiam concurrente, quemadmodum sancta Chalcedonensis synodus ait, et is Deus ex Deo Patre, et homo ex homine semper uirgine matre, idem ipse existens cognoscitur, iuxta naturam natus, quanquam incorporaliter et sine causa, corporaliter autem ex hac propter causam, salutem uidelicet nostram, quomodo possibile est unam eandemque personam, id est unum eundemque Christum Dominum nostrum et Deum, super duas etiam alia

Witness: *p*

A LETTER OF ANASTASIUS TO THE MONKS OF CAGLIARI
(*CPG* 7725)

A letter of the same holy monk Anastasius, disciple of the holy Father Maximus, to the community of monks established at Cagliari.

Time prevents me from writing at length, although I would like to, but I will briefly make everything known to you, most holy people. Those who oppose [us] do not want the teaching of the Fathers to be established by a fixed definition, as it is, even of the most righteous confession of faith; rather, they are compelled by other opinions which I consider it laborious even to enumerate from the rest.[1] Now, therefore, they have shifted from an impossible point of view to an inconsistent one: from saying, that is, that there are neither one nor two, to preaching two *and* one, that is, three wills and operations in one and the same Christ, which was decreed by neither the word of the Fathers nor by the synods nor in natural speech. Nor did the madness of heretics of old and thereafter reach such a pitch, knowing that the same view was foolish, [and] corrupted by its own vice.

§2. For let us suppose that diverse properties characterize a thing composed of diverse substances according to nature, inasmuch as the diversity of natures is in no way removed by union, but rather the saving property of each nature concurs both in one person and in one hypostasis, just as the holy Council of Chalcedon stated;[2] and let us suppose that he [sc. Christ] is understood to exist as one and the same, both God from God the Father, and man from a human, ever-virgin mother, born according to nature, although being incorporeal and without cause,[3] but born of her into a body for one reason: namely, our salvation. Given these suppositions, how can one and the same person, that is, one and the same Christ our Lord and God, be fashioned according to nature with yet another property in addition to those two, as they say, for the safeguarding of those from which and in which and which he is?

secundum ipsos proprietate naturaliter figurari, ad certitudinem eorum ex quibus et in quibus et quae est?

§3. Si enim eaedem creduntur etiam per aliam, id est per tertiam quae et per dualitatem, uoluntates et operationes eius quae secundum naturam sunt, necesse est ut identitate exhibitionis, indissimilitas cognoscatur existentiae, et sit idem duabus una, id est alterutris, 〈 〉 tres, siue naturales, siue substantiales; uerum naturales quidem non, sed secundum illos subsistentiales, aggregentque ob hoc aduersus eum iam aut tres substantias, aut totidem subsistentias, et secundum ipsum aequi numeri proprietates, increatam uidelicet et creatam et neutram, id est inexistentem. Inexistens enim est quod neutrius per naturam participatur, ita ut etiam identitate quae ad eam, id est tertiam, est, secundum illos inexistentes sint et duae naturae, et naturales ipsius uoluntates ac operationes. At uero si non eadem sed alia, exceptis his ex quibus est credendus, in eo per tertiam aiunt, †eundem secundum eandem† rursus proferunt in inexistentiam, uelut is qui medius inter 〈utramque〉 neutra[m] harum existat, increatam scilicet natura sua et creatam substantiam atque uirtutem: aut enim subsistentialem uolunt hanc esse, aut compositam, aut deiuirilem, aut unitoriam propter adunationem. Nam non solum, ut dictum est, hanc non existentem introducunt, quod secundum nihil eorum ex quibus est natura hunc charactirizet, uerum etiam a naturali cognatione quam habet cum Deo et Patre, reddunt externum; minus enim dicendum quia perhibent eum etiam a congenita proprietate quam habet ad intemeratam matrem et uirginem alienum, quasi secundum neutrum horum habeat compositam aut subsistentialem, aut deiuirilem, aut unitoriam propriam uoluntatem et operationem. Verum Patris quidem incompositam sine principio habet, et substantialem atque diuinam, matris uero creatam natura et humanam.

§4. Deinde etiam diuisas naturas ex quibus ipse est inferunt, quasi per operationem et non per subsistentiam sibi unitas innotescat, si propter unitatem unam operationem dogmatizent, quod hi qui in diuisione corrupti sunt dicunt, affectuosam hanc esse operatione〈m〉 fabulose fingentes. Sic autem et confusioni locum tribuentes, et deiuirilem secundum Seuerum male interpretantur, unam hanc sed non duas secundum unitionem, diuinam

§3. For if the same wills and activities which are according to nature are credited to him through yet another, that is, through a third, as through the duality, similarity of existence must be understood from identity of appearance; and there must be the same, one with two, that is three[4] in each of them, whether natural or substantial. But indeed they do not use the term 'natural', but 'hypostatic', and on this account they now add to him either three substances, or as many hypostases, and properties of equal number accordingly, namely an uncreated one and a created one, and one that is neither [of the two], that is to say, one that is non-existent. For that is non-existent which shares in neither through nature, in such a way that even in the identity which belongs to the third [property], both his two natures and his natural wills and activities are non-existent, according to them. But if they say that it is not the same [will and operation] in him, but another apart from those from which he is to be believed [to be], through the third [property], they again reduce †the same one according to the same [property]†, to non-existence, as one who exists in the middle between ⟨both⟩ [is] the neutral of these two, that is to say, the substance and power uncreated by its own nature, and created; for they want these[5] to be either hypostatic, or composite, or 'theandric', or unitary on account of the union.[6] For not only do they introduce, as I have said, this non-existent [property] which characterizes him according to none of those from which he is by nature, but they even render him a stranger from the natural relationship which he has with his God and Father. For it is less correct that they present him a stranger even from the congenital property which he shares with his inviolate virgin mother, as if, according to the neutral of these, he has either a composite or hypostatic or theandric or unitary will and activity of his own. But in fact, he has from his Father a will and activity which are[7] not composite, without beginning, and substantial and divine, but from his mother he has a will and activity which are by nature created and human.

§4. Furthermore, they even infer that the natures from which he himself is, are divided, as if unity is known through activity and not through hypostasis, if they teach one activity on account of unity, as those profess who are corrupted in division, fabulously imagining this activity to be dispositional. But thus [they are] both allowing room for confusion, and they wrongly interpret 'theandric' as Severus does,[8] contending that this signifies one but not two, according to the union, divine by nature and human, and they introduce for them-

natura et uirilem, significare contendentes, et hac Deiuiri quandam naturam, sed non uirum factum Deum sibimet subinducunt, praesertim cum hoc praeuidens etiam uere deiphantor Dionysius, non unam uocauerit hanc, sed *noua quadam deiuirili nobis* eum dixerit *operatione conuersatum,* ostendens non alteram ab altera disiunctim, sed ambas per alterutras et alterutris connaturaliter adunatas, in eorum ex quibus et in quibus et quae erat certitudinem proferendas et, ut paterne dicamus, *cum alterius communione* horum utrumque, ita ut mirabiles quidem passiones, compassibilia uero proculdubio miracula cognoscantur, per omnimodam coaptationem eorum quae ab eo naturaliter gesta sunt. Dupla enim omnia, et uera omnia, et unita omnia praedicant, in eo qui duplici est natura, ea quae secundum naturam sunt, Dei praecones et patres nostri. Quibus, ut dictum est, suum corrigere nolentes sermonem, adhuc et senioris Romae propriae consentire sectae coegerunt apocrisiarios, unam super duas, id est tres secum praedicandi in eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo uoluntates et operationes, similem scientiae ligno gustum commiscentes, quemadmodum et isti fidem ex bono et malo proferunt affectantibus. Vnde et talibus circumuenientes litteris, ei qui miserat, mittunt.

§5. Quia ergo in magno propter haec periculo sunt res pene totius catholicae et apostolicae Dei ecclesiae constitutae, pro ea deprecamur et obsecramus sanctissimos uos, ne hanc despiciatis periclitantem, sed adiuuetis tempestatibus laborantem, scientes in tempore tribulationis dilectionem quae in Spiritu sancto est nasci, et si possibile est uos transire citius, quasi alia pro causa, ad senioris Romae pios et firmos ut petram uiros,[a] qui uidelicet uobiscum tutores nostri sunt semper et propugnatores feruentissimi ueritatis, obsecrare hos supplicatoriis uocibus et lacrimis pro omnibus Christianis, quatinus mercedem a Domino sortiantur,[b] omnibus similiter et si⟨bi⟩met absque nouitate recens inuenta seruantes orthodoxam fidem, et nihil super ea minus plusue suscipientes uel approbantes praeter quae diffinita sunt a sanctis patribus ac synodibus, ut boni studii sui aemulatione, hoc maximum cum Dei auxilio directe prosequentes opus, cum illis siue nunc, siue in die iudicii Dominum habeant debitorem;[c] quem nimirum habuerunt in talibus creditorem, non aliud quid praeter se, sed se ipsum totum, totis uobis atque illis in aeternas delicias et

[a] Cf. Matt. 16: 18 [b] Cf. 2 Jn. 8 [c] Cf. Matt. 10: 32, Lk. 12: 8

selves by this [definition] some nature of the God-man, but not God made man. [They do so] even though Dionysius, revealer of God, who truly foresaw this, did not speak of 'one' but described him[9] as '*changed by a certain new theandric activity for us*',[10] showing that one was not separate from the other but both were united together according to their natures through each other and in each other, being brought forth for the safeguarding of those from which and in which and which he was. And as we may say, like the Fathers, each of those had '*communion with the other*',[11] indeed in such a way that marvellous sufferings and compassionate miracles are recognized as beyond doubt, through the complete adaptation of those things which were assumed by him according to nature. For the prophets of God and our Fathers predicate everything which is according to his nature as double and real and united in him who has a double nature. Unwilling to correct their own speech, as I have mentioned, to that of the Fathers, still they have forced even the emissaries of older Rome to consent to their own sect, and to preach with them one as well as two, that is three, wills and activities together in the same Lord and Jesus Christ, mixing the taste like the taste of the tree of knowledge, just as these people offer a faith [mixed] of good and evil, to those who seize it. On this account, they send people to go around with such letters, to him who sent [them].[12]

§5. Therefore because the affairs of almost the whole church of God, which has been established as catholic and apostolic, are in great danger on account of these things, we pray on behalf of her and we beseech you, most holy people, that you do not despise her being in danger, but that you help her while she is labouring in the tempests, knowing that love which is in the Holy Spirit grows in the time of tribulation. And if it is possible, [we ask] that you go across more swiftly, as if for some other reason, to the pious men of older Rome, who are solid as a rock, who clearly always protect us as you do, and are most fervent fighters for the truth, to beseech them with supplicatory words and tears on behalf of all Christians, in order that they may gain reward from the Lord, preserving for all, as for themselves, the orthodox faith without newly-invented innovation, and taking up nothing more or less beyond those things, nor approving anything beyond that which has been defined by the holy Fathers and synods. The upshot will be that, by emulation of the excellent zeal of the Fathers and the councils, correctly pursuing this greatest of works with the help of God, they also may have the Lord as their debtor

refectionem donantem; quem et nos habere aduersus Arrianos, qui continuantur hic, supplicate Deo, beati et nostrae ad Deum deductionis praeuii, cum simus egeni pauperes et indigni serui uestri.

both now and on the day of judgement. He was plainly their creditor in such things, giving nothing other than himself, but rather his whole self, giving all of you, and them, into eternal delight and restoration. And pray to God, blessed ones and forerunners of our approach to God, that we might hold against the Arians[13] who are united here, since we are needy paupers and your unworthy servants.

EP. ANASTASII APOCRISIARII AD THEODOSIUM GANGRENSEM (*CPG* 7733)

§1. Exemplar propriae scriptionis epistolae sancti patris nostri ac doctoris Anastasii presbyteri et apocrisiarii magni nominis senioris Romae, noui scilicet confessoris, uel quod magis fatendum est, multum certatoris et martyris ueritatis, scriptae una cum subiacentibus testimoniis sacris et syllogismis cum ipsa quae abscisa est eius sancta dextera manu, admirabili prorsus ingenio, immo diuina uirtute et gratia, postquam passus est ipse et patres qui cum eo fuerunt in misero Byzantio propter uerbum tantummodo ueritatis, et quod noluissent uel etiam, ut uerius dicatur, non potuissent eis communicare in tam publica ipsorum perfidia et manifesta impietate secundum sanctum et magnum in theologia Gregorium qui in sermone suo quem in se fecit et aduersus Arrianos affatur: "Quasdam dimisimus bestias sanctorum corporibus quod quidam inhumanitatem publicauerint, unum accusantes tantum, ne impietati cederent nec communione pollluerentur, quam ut uenenum serpentis fugientes, non corpus laedentem, sed profunda quaeque animae offuscantem." Missa praeterea est a tertio exilio, id est Lazico, ad Theodosium, presbyterum Gangrensem et monachum, in sancta Christi nostri ciuitate constitutum.

§2. *Ἡ ἐπιγραφή. Δεσπότῃ μου τὰ πάντα ἁγιωτάτῳ θεοτιμήτῳ πατρὶ πνευματικῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Θεοδοσίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ἀναστάσιος ⟨ὁ ἐλάχιστος⟩ ἐλέει Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχὸς δοῦλος τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἀποδοθῇ σὺν Θεῷ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλει τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Θεοδοσίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Γάγγρων.*

LETTER OF ANASTASIUS APOCRISIARIUS TO THEODOSIUS OF GANGRA (*CPG* 7733)

§1. Copy[1] of the actual written letter of our holy Father and teacher Anastasius, priest and apocrisiarius of great renown of older Rome, indeed a new confessor, or—which is a much greater thing to say—who strove much, and was a martyr for the truth. He wrote this, together with the attached holy testimonia and syllogisms, with truly admirable skill with his holy right hand which was cut away, or rather by divine power and grace after the suffering he and the fathers who were with him in wretched Byzantium [endured], simply on account of the word of truth, and because they did not want, or even—as may be said more truthfully—were not able to communicate with them in their very public perfidy and obvious impiety. According to the holy Gregory, great in theology, who in the sermon which he wrote about himself and against the Arians, said: 'What beasts have we let loose upon the bodies of the saints, in that certain people have revealed their natural inhumanity, accusing them of one thing only: that they would not yield to impiety nor pollute themselves with communion [with the impious], which we flee as the poison of a serpent, as not wounding the body but injuring the very depths of the soul?'[2] It was sent, moreover, from the third place of exile, that is from Lazica, to Theodosius the priest from Gangra, a monk established in the holy city of our Christ.[3]

§2. Dedication to my lord the most holy in all, honourable to God, spiritual father and teacher, Theodosius the priest, ⟨the humble⟩ Anastasius, by God's mercy priest and monk, servant of the servants of God. Let it be delivered with God's help in the holy city of Christ our God to my lord Theodosius, priest from Gangra.

§3. *Μνήμην δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων*[a] *ποιεῖσθαι ἡ θεόπνευστος ἡμῖν διακελεύεται Παροιμία. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὁ ἐλάχιστος, μνήμην τῶν δικαίων ἐκείνων καὶ μάλιστα Μαξίμου τοῦ ὄντως μεγίστου (τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὸ Μάξιμος ὄνομα δηλοῖ) τῷ λόγῳ ποιήσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος βουλόμενος καὶ ἀξίως τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν καὶ γνῶσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ, ἐγκωμιάσαι μὴ ἐφικνούμενος, τοῦτο καὶ μόνον σημᾶναι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ γράμματος τοῖς θεοτιμήτοις ὑμῖν συνεῖδον, ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα γνῶναι, ὡς ἔμαθον, ἐπιποθεῖτε, τουτέστι τὸ πότε οἱ μακάριοι ἐκεῖνοι ἐν Κυρίῳ κεκοίμηνται.*

§4. *Γνωρίζω τοίνυν ⟨ὑμῖν⟩, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπαχθέντων ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶν σιωπῇ παραπέμψας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου †προοίμιον†, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνεπιτήδειον, ὅτιπερ καταλαβόντων ἡμῶν τὴν τῶν φιλοχρίστων Λαζῶν χώραν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς τῆς πέμπτης ἐπινεμήσεως τῆς ἐνεστώσης πεντεκαιδεκαετηρίδος, εὐθέως διεῖλον ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ τηνικαῦτα τὸ ἄρχειν τῶν ἐνταῦθα λαχόντος, διαρπάσαντες πάντα, μέχρι καὶ ἑνὸς βελονίου καὶ ῥάμματος, ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἔκ τε ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς φιλοχρίστων ἐκεκτήμεθα. Καὶ τὸν μὲν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρα, φημὶ δὴ τὸν κύριον ἀββᾶν Μάξιμον, μήτε εἰς ὑποζύγιον, μήτε εἰς φορεῖον καθεσθῆναι δυνάμενον διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ κατακεῖσθαι, πλέξαντες ἀπὸ βεργίων ὥσπερ χαλάδριον, βαστάζοντες ἀπήγαγον καὶ ἐνέκλεισαν εἰς κάστρον λεγόμενον Σχήμαριν πλησίον τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν λεγομένων Ἀλανῶν, τὸν δὲ κύριον ἀββᾶν Ἀναστάσιον κἀμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐφιππίσαντες ἀπήγαγον καὶ ἐνέκλεισαν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἰς κάστρον λεγόμενον Σκοτόριν τῆς Ἀψιλίας πλησίον τῆς Ἀβασγίας, ἐμὲ δὲ εἰς ἕτερον κάστρον, οὗ ὄνομα Βουκόλους τῆς λεγομένης Μησι⟨μι⟩ανῆς χώρας ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τῶν λεγομένων Ἀλανῶν, ὅπερ κάστρον παραλαβόντες οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἀλανοὶ νῦν κατέχουσιν. Εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας λαβόντες ἐμέ τε καὶ τὸν μακάριον Ἀναστάσιον ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ κάστρῳ, ἐκεῖνον μὲν παρέπεμψαν εἰς κάστρον τῆς λεγομένης Σουανίας ἤδη λοιπὸν ἡμιθανῆ ὄντα ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βασάνων καὶ τῶν αἰκισμῶν ὧν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ὑπεμείναμεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκῶν καὶ περιστάσεων τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπενεχθέντων ἡμῖν. Ὅθεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὡς τινὲς φασίν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν, ἅμα τῷ ἐγκλεισθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς ὃ παρεπέμφθη κάστρον τῆς Σουανίας*

[a] Prov. 10: 7

§3. The divinely inspired Proverb orders us to *remember the just with praises*. Therefore I, in humility, wish to compose in the present discourse a commemoration of those just men, and especially of Maximus, truly 'the greatest one': the name Maximus in general implies this. Since I can in no way succeed in worthily praising his virtue and knowledge, nor his witness on behalf of Christ God either, I decided to inform you, who are honourable to God, through this writing, simply of what you yourselves also long most of all to know, as I have found out: that is, when those blessed men fell asleep in the Lord.

§4. I am therefore making known ⟨to you⟩—consigning to silence most of the evil events suffered by us on account of their number and the †beginning†[4] of the narrative, in fact also because of the inappropriateness of the occasion—that, when we reached the land of the Lazicans, friends of Christ, on the eighth day of the month of the month of June[5] in the fifth indiction of the fifteen-year period now upon us, they immediately separated us from each other, on the order of the one who then had authority over those who were there, snatching away everything, down to a single needle and thread, whatever we had acquired for our basic wants both from you and the friends of Christ in your company. And since they could place that saintly man—I mean the lord Father Maximus—neither on a beast nor on a litter because of his weak condition, after they had plaited from sticks a sort of little stretcher, they carried him off and shut him up in the fort called Schemaris, near the tribe of the people called the Alani.[6] But the lord Father Anastasius, and me, a sinner, they took off on horses and imprisoned, him in a fort called Scotoris[7] in Apsilia near Abasgia, and me in another fort whose name is Boucolous,[8] in the land called Mesimiana on the borders of the Alani, whom I have mentioned, which is the fort which the same Alani captured and now hold. Then after a few days, they took both me and the blessed Anastasius from the forts[9] I have mentioned, and sent him to a fort called Souania,[10] although he was already by that time half-dead, as a result of the multitude of tortures and suffering which we had undergone in Byzantium, not to mention both the constraints and the distressing circumstances into which we were brought here. For this reason, halfway during the journey, as some say, but, as others say, immediately on being imprisoned in the fort of Souania to which he had been dispatched, he died. Consequently I judge that he fell asleep in the Lord about the twenty-second or twenty-fourth day of the

ἐτελεύτησεν. Τεκμαίρομαι τοίνυν ὅτι περὶ τὴν εἰκάδα δευτέραν ἢ εἰκάδα τετάρτην τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ κεκοίμηται· τῇ γὰρ ιη′ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς ἠνέχθημεν ἀμφότεροι κατ᾽ ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ τότε ἄρχοντος εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Μουκουρίσιν, παραστάσιμοι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου στρατοῦ (ἐκεῖνος ἤδη, ὡς ἔφην, ἡμιθανὴς ὑπάρχων), καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐκέτι αὐτὸν ἐθεασάμην· εὐθέως γὰρ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν μέν, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰς κάστρον τῆς Σουανίας, ἐμὲ δὲ εἰς κάστρον τῆς λεγομένης Θακυρίας πλησίον Ἰβερίας. Ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν ὑπολαμβάνω ὅτι περὶ τὴν εἰκάδα ⟨δευτέραν ἢ εἰκάδα τετάρτην τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς τῆς πέμπτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἐν Κυρίῳ καθὼς εἴρηται κεκοίμηται⟩.

Hinc igitur conicio quod circa undecimo kalendas uel nono kalendas Augustas quintae indictionis in Domino, sicut dictum est, obdormierit.

§5. Porro Christi Dei martyr domnus uidelicet abba Maximus cum esset custodiae mancipatus in castro superius memorato, diuina sibi facta uisione, aduocauit quosdam ex his qui erant in castro, et dixit ad eos: "Tertio decimo die Augusti mensis huius instantis quintae indictionis, feria septima, assumet me Dominus," quod et factum est. Igitur tertio decimo die praedicti Augusti mensis, praeteritae quintae indictionis, secundum diuinum eius uaticinium, feria septima, praesentibus derelictis perrexit ad Dominum. Porro et aliud miraculum quod diuinitus in sancto eius monumento efficitur, quodque usque in praesens qui castrum illud et eius circaregionem inhabitant intuentur et praedicant, et ad quosdam etiam principum atque magnatum peruenit, dignum est et uobis quoque sanctissimis et per uos omnibus qui ibidem sunt sancti, per litteras fieri manifestum, in gloriam et laudem Dei qui facit mirabilia in sanctis suis et *glorificat* memoriam eorum *qui* se orthodoxe ac sincere *glorificant*.[b] Id est, tres lampades luciferae per singulas noctes sanctum sancti illius martyris Maximi monumentum illustrant. Haec de memorabili hoc uiro, beatoque Anastasio, Deo honorabilibus uobis et per uos omni sanctae Dei quae illic in recta fide degit ecclesiae breuiter annotaui, quatinus et uos, his cognitis, glorificetis *Deum qui est mirabilis in sanctis suis*.[c]

[b] 1 Kings 2: 30 [c] Ps. 67: 36

month of July.[11] I say this because on the eighteenth day of the same month of July[12] we were both brought to the place called Moucourisis on the order of the man who was then chief,[13] prisoners in the midst of the army who are friends of Christ. [14] Anastasius was already half-dead, as I have said, and from that point on I did not lay eyes on him anymore. I mean that while they dispatched him immediately, as has been said, to the fort of Souania, [they dispatched] me to the fort called Thacyria,[15] near Iberia.

From this, then, I assume that, on about the twenty[16]-second or twenty-fourth day of the month of July[17] in the fifth indiction, he fell asleep in the Lord, as has been said.

§5. Furthermore, the martyr of Christ God, namely the lord Father Maximus, on being transferred to the custody of the fort mentioned above, saw a divine vision, [and] summoned some of those who were in the fort, and said to them: 'On the thirteenth day of August of this present fifth indiction, on the seventh day of the week,[18] God will take me up.' Which is what happened. Thus on the thirteenth day of the said month of August in the fifth indiction which has passed, in accordance with his divine prophecy, on the seventh day of the week, he left behind present things and proceeded to the Lord. Furthermore, it is fitting to make known to you, most holy people, another miracle too which is effected by divine power at his holy tomb, and which those who live in that fort and the area around it observe up to the present day and speak about, and [which] has even come to the attention of certain of the chiefs and magnates. And [it is fitting to make it known] through you to all holy people who are there, through letters, for the glory and praise of God *who performs miracles in his holy ones*, and *glorifies* the memory of *those who glorify him* sincerely and according to orthodox belief. That is to say, three shining lamps illuminate the holy tomb of that holy martyr Maximus on individual nights. I have briefly outlined these things concerning that remarkable man, and the blessed Anastasius, to you who are honourable to God, and through you to every holy church of God which lives in the right faith there, so that you, when you know these things, may glorify *God who is marvellous in his holy ones.*

§6. Interea et quae mihi peccatori et exiguo post haec contigerunt, et in quibus sim, pari modo perpaucis manifestabo. Cum enim fecissem duos menses in castro praedictae Thacyriae in infirmitate reiăcens, et pauxillum quid requiem fuissem adeptus, rursus misit me tunc princeps ad partes Apsiliae et Mesimianae custodiae mancipandum in castro Phustas, et ut absolute dicam septem mensibus duxit et circumduxit me per omnes praedictas regiones, nudum et discalciatum et peditem, et frigore ac fame et siti depressum, uolens profecto et me quoque ab hac detergere uita. Sed nescio quid super me humili praeuidens Deus, qui omnia salubri prouidentia sua producit, usque nunc conseruauit me in hac multarum tribulationum et miseriae uita. Post aliquot itaque dies pellitur illinc praedictus princeps. Deindeque succedens alius uisus est compati, inter quae duxit me iuxta domum suam receptum a iam memorato castro Phustensium. Et post annum, ex diabolica operatione motus, destinat me ad praedictum castrum. Sed Deus qui remetitur his qui aliis remetiuntur,[d] eadem die qua me pepulit, pulsus est hinc, et efficitur profugus in Christi amatorum regione Abasgorum, et consilio accepto a Christi amicis qui illic erant principibus magis compatiendi quam me minimum persequendi, et orationem a me potius quam gemitum percipiendi, ipsi quippe amici Christi principes Abasgiae compatiuntur humili mihi quanquam nescierint me, repromisit quidem illis quod si exiret inde et restitueretur in principatu, omnia quae forent ad solacium et refrigerium meum perficeret. Dein post paucos dies nescio unde adiutus egreditur quidem iterum et recipit principatum, nil tamen eorum quae pollicitus est Deo et crebro dictis Dei amicis principibus in opus perduxit. E contrario autem manibus nequam deductus uirorum, repromi⟨s⟩sionum quidem oblitus est, tolli autem me a castro Phustensium et maturius in Schemareos castrum mitti praecepit.

§7. Factum interea est, cum ducerent me in iam nominatum castrum, ut ille iterum pelleretur et esset profugus ubi et primum fuerat. Excitauit autem Deus spiritum suum in uiro boni aemulatore qui Dei habeat in se timorem pariter et amorem, et uere pheronime uigilantem secundum Deum possideat mentem, qui cum Deo nunc praeest regioni, et Deum imitante condescensione seu compassione motus, reduxit me a uia crebro dicti Schemareos

[d] Cf. Matt. 7: 2, Mark 4: 24, Lk. 6: 38

§6. However, I will also very briefly make known likewise the things which happened afterwards to me, a humble sinner, and my current condition. For when I had done two months in the fort of Thacyria, which I have mentioned, and I was lying ill, having had very little rest, the man who was then chief again sent me to the regions of Apsilia and Mesimiana to be handed over to custody in the fort of Phusta,[19] and not to mince words, he led me for seven months around through all the regions I have described, naked and unshod and on foot, and oppressed by cold and hunger and thirst, wishing in fact to wipe me too out from this life. But God, foreseeing I do not know what concerning my humble self, who supplies everything through his saving providence, has preserved me up until now in this life of misery and many trials. And thus, after several days, that chief was driven from there. And then he was succeeded by another, who seemed to have compassion, since he brought me near to his own home, when I was delivered from the fort of Phusta just mentioned. And after a year, stirred by the activity of the devil, he dispatched me to the fort which I have mentioned. But God, who gives back in equal quantity to people what they give to others, on the same day on which the chief drove me out, he was driven out[20] from here, and was made an exile in the region of the Abasgians, who love Christ. Advised by the friends of Christ, who had been chiefs there, to have compassion rather than persecute me in my lowliness, and to accept prayers from me rather than groans, [21] those very Abasgian leaders and friends of Christ had compassion on my humble self although they did not know me. He indeed promised them that, if he could leave there and be restored to the leadership, he would carry out everything for my comfort and refreshment. Then after a few days, aided from I do not know where, he indeed went out again and regained the leadership, but he carried into action none of those things which he had promised to God and to the leaders and friends of Christ whom I have often mentioned. On the contrary, once delivered from the hands of men, the wretch in fact forgot his promise [and] instead ordered me to be removed from the fort of the people of Phusta, and later to be sent to the fort of Schemaris.

§7. However, when they were bringing me to the fort just named, it happened that he was driven out again and was in exile where he had been originally. But God stirred his spirit in a man who was an imitator of good, who possessed equally fear and love of God, and truly like his name possessed a mind vigilant with regard to God, who with

castri, et constituit me quasi quinque signis longius a diuinitus custodienda domo sua, in loco monachos ueraciter condecente, praebens necessarias largissime corporis utilitates. Pro quibus omnibus Christus uerus Deus, per intercessiones quae illum secundum carnem genuit Dei genitricis semperque uirginis Mariae ac omnium sanctorum, *protegat* eum una cum amandis filiis suis atque honorabili horum ac prorsus laudabili matre, *ab omni caterua malignantium et a multitudine operantium iniquitatem,*[e] donans illis bonorum refectionem, *ut semper omnem sufficientiam habentes, abundent in omne opus bonum,*[f] et statione faciat eos quae a[d] dextris futura est dignos,[g] atque diuinam illam et mitem uocem expertos quae dicet: *Venite benedicti Patris mei, haereditate percipite praeparatum uobis regnum ab origine mundi, quia ⟨h⟩ospes fui, et collegistis me*[h] et cetera, amen.

§8. Obsecro autem sanctissimos uos eadem pro ipsis postulare in sanctis orationibus uestris, et maxime cum in sanctis et colendis oraueritis. Digni quippe sunt quibus haec pr⟨a⟩estetis. Filii enim germani existunt sanctae Christi Dei nostri Anastaseos. Denique Stephanum, qui in sanctis est, filium uidelicet beati Iohannis presbyteri qui cimiliarcha sanctissimae illius ecclesiae fuit, uenientem in hanc regionem, ut asseruit, ad requisitionem humilitatis meae, ipsi cum omni studio et gaudio susceperunt et honorauerunt, et omnem subuectionem ad requisitionem mei tribuerunt, tanquam homini profecto sanctae Christi Dei nostri Anastaseos. Vnde et subsidium eorum habens, inuenit me sanctus ille Stephanus, cui faciat Dominus Deus misericordiam *in illa die iustus iudex,*[i] sed et his qui miserunt eum, quoniam reuera *opus euangelistae fecit.*[j] Sicut enim equus spiritualis ascensorem habens, ipsum scilicet Deum iuxta Scripturam quae ait: *Ascendens super equos tuos, et equitatus tuus sanitas,*[k] totam Lazicam et Apsiliam et Abasgiam discurrens, sine timore tam quae ueritatis, quam quae subintroductae nouitatis erant, annuntiauit, ac multorum utilitatis atque salutis et meae ipsius quietis et consolationis causa uiri est facta praesentia, et nequam nomen, quod ueri apostatae ueritatis nobis imposuerunt, ex tunc dissipatum est, et euidens multis ueritas facta est. His itaque bonis hic proprio aduentu correctis, nobilis ille uir, kalendis Ianuariis octauae indictionis quae modo praeteriit, apud Christi amicum

[e] Ps. 63: 3 [f] 2 Cor. 9: 8 [g] Cf. Matt. 25: 33-4
[h] Matt. 25: 34–5 [i] 2 Tim. 4: 8 [j] 2 Tim. 4: 5
[k] Hab. 3: 8

God now governs the region. And imitating God, moved by condescension or compassion, he brought me back along the road from the fort of Schemaris, which has been often mentioned, and he settled me at about five miles' distance[22] from his house which was under divine protection, in a place truly fitting for monks, bestowing the necessary provisions for the body most generously. On behalf of all of these, may Christ the true God, through the intercessions of the mother of God and ever-virgin Mary who bore him in the flesh, and of all the saints, *protect* him together with all his beloved children and their honourable and entirely praiseworthy mother, *from all the malicious crowd and the throng of evil-doers*. May God give them the refreshment of good things, *so that they, always having every sufficiency, may abound in every good work* and he may make them worthy of the position which will be at his right hand, and they may experience that divine and gentle voice which will say: '*Come, blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world, because I was a guest and you welcomed me*,' et cetera, amen.

§8. I beg you, most holy people, make the same requests for them in your holy prayers, and especially when you pray in the holy and revered [places]. The people for whom you offer these [prayers] are worthy indeed. I mean that they are true brothers of [the Church of] the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God.[23] Then indeed they received and honoured with all zeal and joy Stephen, who is among the saints, namely the son of the blessed priest John who was cimiliarch of that most holy church,[24] when he came to this region, as he asserted, to search for me in my humility, and they gave him all support in the search, as to a man truly of [the Church of] the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God. Whereupon, by their aid, holy Stephen found me. To him may our Lord God *the just judge* show mercy *on that day*, but also to those who sent him, since he truly *performed the work of an evangelist*. For like a spiritual horse, having for its rider God himself, according to the Scripture which says: *Mounting on your horses, and your riding [is] salvation*, he travelled through all of Lazica and Apsilia and Abasgia, [and] he fearlessly proclaimed both what was true and what had been introduced through innovation. And the presence of the man brought profit and salvation to many, and brought me peace and consolation, and the evil reputation which the true apostates of truth had imposed on us was dissipated from that point on, and the truth was made clear to many. And thus when these good people had been set straight by his own arrival here, on the

Abasgiae principem dormiuit in Domino. Cui omnes qui hunc nouerunt, ut sancto requiem exoptarunt.

§9. Quapropter oportebat quosdam ex uestratibus, Dei amatoribus et secundum scientiam zelum Dei habentibus,[1] huc uenire, et quae ueritatis et pro ueritate sunt testificari, ut et orthodoxia magis conualesceret, et introducta nouitas peramplius argueretur, sed et ego humilis consolatione ac refectione potirer, et uenientes bonam a Christo Deo, pro quo etiam causa est, mercedem perciperent. Et maxime cum usque ad Hiberiam illinc, ut didici, ueniant, cuius rei gratia et huc minime ueniunt?

. . . ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἐστίν, ἐκομίζοντο· καὶ μάλιστα ἕως Ἰβερίας ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθι, ὡς μανθάνω, παραγινόμενοι, τίνος χάριν καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὐ φοιτῶσι;

§10. *Δυσωπῶ τοιγαροῦν τοὺς ἁγιωτάτους ὑμᾶς, εἰ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ὑπάρχει, πεμφθῆναί μοι διά τινος πιστοῦ τῶν εἰς Ἰβερίων ἐρχομένων τὴν βίβλον τῶν κανονικῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς συνόδου, τῆς κατὰ πρόσταξιν ἱερὰν τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ κορυφαίου πάπα Μαρτίνου ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ ἀθροισθείσης, πραχθέντων, ὅπως ἂν πολλῷ πλέον τὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἱερὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἀναφυέντων αἱρετικῶν βδελύγματα κατάδηλα τοῖς ἐνταῦθα γένωνται. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μόνον ἄκοντες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι ποιοῦσι καλὸν οἱ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως ἐκδιώκοντες, ὅτι ὥσπερ εἰς διαφόρους τόπους καὶ χώρας ἐξορίζοντες ἡμᾶς, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὀρθοδοξίαν, ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρεσβεύομεν, ἐπὶ πλέον φανεροῦσθαι παρασκευάζουσι, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν κακοδοξίαν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ πάσῃ χώρᾳ στηλιτεύεσθαι καὶ διελέγχεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον τῷ ἁγίῳ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ μάρτυρι τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅτι Οἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ κακὸν ᾗ ἀγαθόν, τουτέστιν ὡς ἀγαθόν, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ αἱ αἰτίαι τῶν κακῶν δυνάμεις εἰσὶν ἀγαθοποιοί. Ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχει τὸ τὴν μὲν πατρικὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, ὡς ἔφην, φανεροῦσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ αἱρετικὴν κακοδοξίαν στηλιτεύεσθαι καὶ διελέγχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ δι' ἐξοριῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θλίψεων τοῦτο γίνεται· οὕτως γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μὲν λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐκρατύνθη, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐσμικρύνθη καὶ ἐξηφανίσθη, διωκομένων δηλονότι*

[1] Cf. Rom. 10: 2

Kalends of January of the eighth indiction which has just passed,[25] that noble man fell asleep in the Lord at the house of the leader of Abasgia, who was a friend of Christ. All who knew him prayed for rest for him, as for a saint.

§9. On account of this it was fitting that certain of you who love God and have zeal for God in accordance with wisdom should come here and give testimony to what is true and on behalf of the truth, so that both the orthodox faith might grow stronger, and the innovation which has been introduced might be made known more fully; but also so that I, in my lowliness, might grow stronger by consolation and convalescence, and that those who came might receive a good reward from Christ God for whose sake they came.[26] And especially since they have come as far as Iberia from there, as I have found out, why don't they come here too?

§10. Therefore I beseech you most holy people, if the possibility exists, to send me by one of the believers who come to Iberia the book containing what was passed by canonical decree by the holy and apostolic synod, which, through the sacred command of the holy martyr and apostolic and most high Pope Martin, was convened in older Rome, in order that the sacred teachings of the holy Fathers, and the abominations of the heretics which have sprung up both in the past and in the present, may be made much more obvious to those [who live] here. My point is that those who persecute God and us unjustly perform this and only this favour inadvertently and against their will: while banishing us to different places and regions, they contrive to have the orthodox faith of the holy Fathers, which we too preach, revealed further, while their own heresy is held up to scorn and refuted in every place and in every region, according to the saying of the holy Dionysius, bishop of Athens and witness to the truth: '*God knows evil [and] in it, good*'—that is, how good '*and in it the causes of evils have the power to do good*'.[27] I mean that it is truly good to cause the orthodox faith of the Fathers to be revealed and strengthened, as I have said, and to have the unorthodox faith of the heretics held up to scorn and refuted, even though this is achieved through exiles and other hardships. For thus from the beginning the word of truth was spread abroad and disappeared, when of course both the holy prophets and apostles and teachers suffered persecution and exile and other dreadful fates.

καὶ ἐξοριζομένων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δεινὰ πασχόντων τῶν τε ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ διδασκάλων.

§11. *Ἐὰν οὖν, ὡς ἐδυσώπησα, ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κατανυγόμενοι ἀποστέλλετε τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον, εἰ μὲν βούλονται οἱ ταύτην ἐπιφερόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τὸν πανεύφημον καὶ θεοφύλακτον πατρίκιον καὶ σὺν Θεῷ μάγιστρον Γρηγόριον αὐτομολήσωσι, λαμβάνοντες προδήλως ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἰβερίας, εἰ δὲ τυχὸν οὐ βούλονται ἕως ὧδε παραγενέσθαι, παράσχωσιν αὐτὴν τῷ εἰρημένῳ πανευφήμῳ στρατηγῷ Ἰβερίας ὡς ὀφείλοντος αὐτὴν στεῖλαι τῷ λεχθέντι δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ σὺν Θεῷ μαγίστρῳ Γρηγορίῳ, ὅπως ἂν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες κομίσοισθε τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς μελλόντων ὠφεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν μισθὸν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.*

§12. *Ἔστω δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος σὺν ταύτῃ μου τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῖς θεοτιμήτοις ὑμῖν καὶ δι' ὑμῶν τῇ αὐτόθι ἁγιωτάτῃ ὀρθοδόξῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κονδάκιον ἔχον χρήσεις η' τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου τοῦ λιμένος Ῥώμης καὶ μάρτυρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπως καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰδέναι ἔχοιτε ὅτι συμφώνως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἁγίοις πατράσι διαπρυσίως τὰς δύο τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνακηρύττει φύσεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας, ἀποκηρύττει δὲ τοὺς μίαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ φύσιν μίαν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ δογματίζοντας, οἷα τροπὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ φύρσιν, σύγχυσίν τε καὶ διαίρεσιν ἀμφοτέρων αὐτοῦ τῶν φύσεων κατα⟨γ⟩γέλλοντας. Ζητήσατε δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἱερὰν τοῦ πατρὸς βίβλον ἐπιμελῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐμφερομένην ἐν ταῖς χρήσεσιν ἐπιγραφήν. Ἐὰν γὰρ εὕρητε αὐτήν, πολλὰς καὶ ἀναγκαίας δυνήσεσθε ἐξ αὐτῆς μαρτυρίας ἀναλέξασθαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δύο τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ φύσεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν. Ταύτην γὰρ προσενεχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν βίβλον πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς παθεῖν, καὶ βουλομένων ἡμῶν ὅλην μεταγράψαι, αἰφνιδίως κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστάντες οἱ δι' ἐναντίας ληστρικῶς ἀφείλοντο καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν πλὴν τῶν η' τούτων χρήσεων ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπᾶραι.*

§13. *Ὃ δέ με διὰ μέσου τῶν εἰρημένων διέλαθεν, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ὀκνήσω. Τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ὅτιπερ εὐαγγελισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις κυροῦ Στεφάνου τὴν αὐτόθι γεγονυῖαν τῶν πάντων δι' ὀρθοδόξου ὁμολογίας πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἕνωσίν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, πνευματικῆς ὡς ἐπὶ Κυρίῳ ἐνεπλήσθην εὐφροσύνης, καὶ*

§11. Let us suppose, then, that, as I have besought, you are compelled by God to send the sacred book. If those who bring it are willing to come here, let them come of their own accord to the all-famous patrician, guarded by God, and the *magistros*[28] who is in the company of God, Gregory. They should of course take him a letter from the all-praiseworthy patrician and general of Iberia. If, on the other hand, it happens that they are not willing to come as far as here, let them give the book to the all-praiseworthy general of Iberia, whom I have mentioned, who should[29] send it to Gregory, who has been mentioned, our master and most magnificent patrician and *magistros* in the Lord, such that, in so doing, you may receive from those who are going to benefit from the [book] the good reward from our God.

§12. For the present may you find with this letter of mine to you who are honoured by God, and through you to the most holy orthodox church there, a scroll containing eight extracts from the holy Hippolytus, bishop of the port of Rome and a witness to Christ God. My purpose was that also through them you would be in a position to know that, in agreement with the other holy Fathers, he preaches ardently both two natures and activities in our saviour Jesus Christ, while he renounces those who teach one activity and one nature in his divinity and humanity, on the grounds that they advocate both '*the changeability together with the mingling, confusion*', and the division of both of his natures.[30] Search carefully for a holy book like this belonging to the Father under the dedication preceding the extracts. For if you find it you will be able to read many essential witnesses in it to the two natures and activities of Christ our saviour. I say this because this book was delivered to us in Byzantium before we suffered, and when we wanted to copy it in its entirety, our enemies insisted immediately in their usual fashion on snatching it away like thieves, and we were unable to copy[31] it with the exception of these eight extracts.

§13. What has escaped my notice in the course of what I have related, I won't be slow to tell. It's this: when I was informed by the holy lord Stephen about the unity and agreement which had come about there between everyone, mutually and with God, through orthodox confession, I was filled with spiritual joy as if before the Lord. And even if I am a sinner, on account of the nature and magnitude of the blessing I offered up and will not cease to offer up hymns of thanksgiving to God who loves human beings, requesting that this

εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τηλικούτου ἀγαθοῦ τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς τυγχάνω, ἀνέπεμψα καὶ ἀναπέμπων οὐ παύομαι, αἰτούμενος ταύτην μέχρι τέλους ἀσάλευτον διαφυλαχθῆναι πρὸς δόξαν μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπεραγάθου φιλανθρωπίας, ἡμῶν δὲ σωτηρίαν.

§14. *Ὑμᾶς τε τοὺς θεοτιμήτους καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν ἁγίους καὶ δι᾽ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτόθι ἁγίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀσπάζομαι, αἰτούμενος μνημονεύειν μου τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ δεσμίου ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ὑμῶν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαῖς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ σεβασμίοις τόποις, καὶ τιμίαις ἐμοὶ καὶ πολυποθήτοις συλλαβαῖς ὑμῶν ὑποστηρίζειν με καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι τὸν ἐλάχιστον καὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν θέας, εἰ καὶ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀξιωθῆναι πρὸ τοῦ κἀμὲ τὸν δύστηνον τουτονὶ καὶ πολύθλιπτον ὑπεξελθεῖν βίον.*

Scholion. *Τετελείωται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἅγιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ μάρτυς Ἀναστάσιος, μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ια΄, ἡμέρᾳ α΄, ὥρᾳ γ΄, ῥησκομένου ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνάξει "Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις", ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης.*

be preserved up to the end unshaken, for the glory of his most benevolent love of humankind, and for our salvation.

§14. I greet both you who are honourable to God and all the holy people with you, and through you the whole holy catholic and apostolic church of God there. I request that you remember me, a prisoner of sin, in your holy prayers to God, and in the holy and revered places, and that you sustain and comfort me in my humility with your precious letters, which I long for greatly, and grant me the sight of your face—*even if it is a bold request*[32]—before I too depart from this miserable life of many sorrows.

Scholion. Our holy Father and martyr Anastasius, the author of the letter, himself died too on the eleventh day of the month of October, on Sunday at the third hour while '*Holy things for the holy*' was being said in the holy synaxis,[33] in the tenth indiction.[34]

THEODORI SPUDAEI HYPOMNESTICON (*CPG* 7968)

Ἱστορία σύντομος. Τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Μαρτῖνον γεγονότα πάπαν Ῥώμης καὶ τὸν ὅσιον Μάξιμον καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

§1. Scholion siue Ypomnesticum his qui desiderio ac zelo diuino legere uoluerint breuiter declarans, quae paucis sunt agnita, id est una cum athleticis certaminibus quot exilia et in quibus locis ac tempore pertulerint martyrium, diemque fidae ad Deum profectionis et exhibitionis sanctorum et deiferorum patrum nostrorum ac magistrorum, nouorum reuera confessorum et magnorum martyrum, praecipue illius qui positam hic epistolam digito Dei scripsit, eo quod ipse quidem eorum qui ante se defuncti sunt, Maximi scilicet et Anastasii discipuli eius significauerit diem ut praelatum est, de se autem et germanis fratribus eius, Theodoro scilicet ac Euprepio, nemo, insuper et Martini sanctissimi et summi apostolici papae ac martyris, qui omni quae sub sole est praecellit hieraticae dignitati, atque quorundam aliorum, quorum praesens epistola mentionem non facit, nec quaecunque ut reor alia charta uel homo.

§2. *Ἐν ἔτει ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ ἑκατοστῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ καὶ μικρόν τι πλέον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως, τοῦ Ἡρακλείου κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ βασιλεύσαντος (γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ· Δώσω βασιλέα ὑποκριτὴν ἀπὸ δυσκολίας λαοῦ)*[a] *καὶ Σεργίου κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἱερατικὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐφιζάνοντος, ἔλαβεν χώραν αἵρεσις εἰσαχθῆναι τῶν μονοθελητῶν, ἥτις καὶ παρεξετάνθη ὡσεὶ χρόνους ἐγγὺς ἑξήκοντα· κατὰ διαδοχὰς γὰρ ἅτε γάγγραινα νομὴν*[b] *λαβόντες οἱ αὐτοῦ*

Witnesses: *FXp*

[a] Job 34: 30

[b] 2 Tim. 2: 17

COMMEMORATION
(*CPG* 7968)

An abbreviated account. What was done against blessed Martin, Pope of Rome, and holy Maximus and of those with them.[1]

§1. The scholion or commemoration for those who wished with longing and godly zeal to read a brief narration of things known to few, that is how many exiles, together with rigorous trials, and where and when our holy and God-bearing Fathers and teachers, that is, the new confessors and great martyrs achieved martyrdom, and the day of their sure departure to God and of revelation; especially [the trials] of him[2] who wrote, by the finger of God, the letter attached here, where he indicated the day of those who died before him, that is Maximus and his disciple Anastasius, as it was predicted, but concerning himself and his brothers Theodore and Euprepius, blood brothers, no one [has written]. And above all [the trials] of Martin, the most holy and highest apostolic pope and martyr, who has precedence to every priestly rank under the sun, and of certain others not mentioned by the present letter, nor any other document or person, as far as I know.[3]

§2. In the year 6118, or even a little later, after the creation of the world, when with God's consent Heraclius was emperor (it is written in the Book of Job, 'I will give a king who is *an interpreter of the people's discontent*'), and Sergius was settled on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, the heresy of the monothelites began to be introduced into the country, which endured for something close on sixty years. I say this because his descendants received the empire and held sway over it in succession like a *gangrenous sore*. From them descended an emperor by the name of Constantine. They say he was called Constos,[4] whom some also call Pogonatus because he had a long beard. When he too became possessed by this heresy [and] published

ἀπόγονοι ἐκράτησαν τῆς βασιλείας· ἐξ ὧν ἔφυ βασιλεύς τις ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι Κωνσταντῖνος· οἱ δὲ Κῶνστον φασὶν λέγεσθαι, ὃν καὶ Πωγωνάτον τινὲς προσηγόρευσαν ὡς βαθεῖαν ἔχοντα ὑπήνην. Ταύτης τῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ αὐτὸς ἔνθους γενόμενος, Τύπον ποιήσας βλασφημίας μεστόν, ἀνεστήλωσεν ἐν τῷ ἔξωθεν νάρθηκι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐπιβεβαιῶν τὴν βλάσφημον αἵρεσιν τῶν μονοθελητῶν. Ἀλλὰ δίκην ἔδωκεν ἔνδικον· ἀπάρας γὰρ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, βουλόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀπελθεῖν, κατήντησεν ἕως Σικελίας· καὶ αὐτόθι λουτροῖς σχολάζων, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπηρέτου καιρίαν λαβὼν ἀνῃρέθη. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνίωμεν.

§3. *Μαρτίνος οὖν ὁ ἐν ὁσίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ γεγονὼς πρόεδρος τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, συνόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἐν εὐλαβεῖ[α] τῇ μνήμῃ Μαξίμου καὶ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ, σύνοδον ποιήσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱερῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνεθεμάτισεν τὸν προειρημένον ἀσεβῆ Τύπον. Οὐχ' ὑπέμεινεν οὖν Κωνσταντῖνος τούτων γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ὅσιον Μάξιμον μετὰ καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ κατέκλεισεν ἐν φρουρᾷ, καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἀνακρίσεις ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ ἐμμένοντας, ἐξορίστους γεγονέναι προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, ἐν πόλεσιν Βιζύῃ καὶ Περβέρει. Αὖθις δὲ ὡς δράκων ὁ αὐτὸς Κῶνστος τούτους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισύρει. Οἱ δὲ ἀνακρινόμενοι πλέον μᾶλλον ἤλεγξαν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Μανίᾳ οὖν χρησάμενος τούτων ἐκτέμνει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰς γλώσσας καὶ παραπέμπει αὐτοὺς ἐν Λαζικῇ εἰς ἐξορίαν. Ἐχόμενος δὲ τῆς κακίας, γράφει τῷ ἐξάρχῳ Ῥαβέννης, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποστέλλει στρατόπεδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ χειροῦται τὸν ἀοίδιμον Μαρτίνον καὶ ἄγει αὐτὸν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Καὶ κατάκλειστον τοῦτον ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰς θλίψεις αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκών, κατακρίνει αὐτὸν ἐν Χερσῶνι παραπεμφθῆναι, ὡς Θεόδωρός τις μαθητεύσας τῇ θείᾳ ὁμηγύρει ταύτῃ συγγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο ἔχουσαν οὕτως.*

§4. *Χρὴ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖσδε τοῖς ἴσοις τῆς προκειμένης ἱερᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιστολῆς Θεῷ πειθομένοις τῷ ἐτάζοντι καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς*[c] *ἀσφαλῶς πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῷ Κυρίῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἰδιογράφου αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ταληθέστερον εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ τοῦ θαύματος παράδοξον, δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ γραφείσης ἐπιστολῆς, ἤγουν τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ*

[c] Ps. 7: 10

the *Typos*, which is full of blasphemy, he posted it in the exo-narthex of the holy Great Church of God in Constantinople in ratification of the blasphemous heresy of the monothelites. But he paid a just penalty: when he set out from Constantinople, intending to travel to Rome, he got as far as Sicily, and there, while he was relaxing in the baths, he received a fatal blow from the attendant, and was carried off. These events happened later. Let us return to the subject.

§3. So when Martin of holy memory became president of older Rome, Maximus of pious memory and his disciple Anastasius also being with him, after convening in Rome a synod of priests and orthodox men, he anathematized the impious *Typos*, which I have already mentioned. Constantine really could not abide the fact that this had happened, but firstly imprisoned holy Maximus in a camp together with his disciple, and seeing after many inquiries that they remained true to the orthodox faith, he gave the order for them to be banished to Thrace, to the cities Bizya and Perberis. But in turn, like a serpent the same Constos dragged them back to himself. When subjected to an inquiry it was much rather the case that they got the better of him and those with him. So in the grip of passion he cut off their hands and tongues, and sent them into banishment in Lazica. Clinging to evil, he wrote to the exarch of Ravenna, and [the exarch] dispatched an army to Rome, and it took captive the famous Martin and took him to Constantinople. And making him a prisoner and inflicting him with many sufferings, they condemned him to be sent to Cherson, as a certain Theodore instructs [us] in the writing which he composed for this divine assembly, which runs as follows.

§4. Those who have read these copies of the attached holy letter of the holy man are obliged to trust with certainty those obeying God who *examines the inner hearts*, because in it[5] as God is a witness to the truth, was transcribed from the very letter which was written by his own hand—rather, to speak more truly, was written through an amazing miracle by the finger of God. That is to say, by our holy Father and teacher, the lord Father Anastasius, the presbyter and apocrisiarius of the city of older Rome, which has a great name, who both was a great contender and was truly a great new confessor and martyr for the truth. It was written by him—after he suffered, as was said, in Byzantium together with his fellow contender, Maximus, truly a philosopher, or rather a theosopher, and his great fellow

διδασκάλου κυρίου ἀββᾶ Ἀναστασίου, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἀποκρισιαρίου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ μεγαλωνύμου πόλεως Ῥώμης, πολυάθλου τε καὶ μεγάλου νέου ὄντως ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος τῆς ἀληθείας μετεγράφη, γραφείσης παρ' αὐτοῦ (μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἅμα τῷ συνάθλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄντως φιλοσόφῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοσόφῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ αὐτοῦ συμμάρτυρι Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Μαξίμῳ, τουτέστιν ἔνδοθεν ἀποτμηθῆναι τὰς τιμίας αὐτῶν ἱεράς τε καὶ θεοκινήτους ἀληθῶς γλώσσας τε καὶ χεῖρας σὺν αἰκισμοῖς καὶ βασάνοις πικροτάταις, αἱμορραγίᾳ τε καὶ πομπῇ πάσης τῆς πόλεως, ὃ οὐδὲ αἰσχροποιός τις ἀληθῶς ὑπέστη ποτέ· ὡς εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγὼν Θεὸς καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν,[d] ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν ἀπηνοῦς καὶ τοσαύτης αἱμορραγίας, καυστῆρος ὡς πρὸς συνήθειαν μὴ συγχωρηθέντος αὐτοῖς ἢ στυπτικοῦ τινος προσενεχθῆναι ταῖς τομαῖς τῶν χειρῶν τε καὶ γλωσσῶν πρὸς παῦσιν τοῦ αἵματος, τούτους διεφύλαξεν πρὸς ἐντροπὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀπέδωκαν ἂν ἔκτοτε τῷ ποθουμένῳ Θεῷ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁγίας ὄντως καὶ μακαρίας ψυχάς· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔδρασαν εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ ὄντως παμμίαροι καὶ πανάθλιοι ἀποστάται τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τὸν κάκιστον ἀληθῶς καὶ μόνον φθόνον, ὃν ὁ ἀρχέκακος δαίμων αὐτοῖς ἐνέσπειρεν, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις, ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ ἀντιστῆναι τῇ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀξίως δωρηθείσῃ αὐτοῖς σοφίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄντως ἀληθείας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ θέλειν αὐτοὺς συγκοινωνῆσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ μόνον τῇ οὕτω πουβλίκῳ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀθεΐᾳ αὐτῶν) μετ' αὐτῆς τῆς κοπείσης αὐτοῦ δεξιᾶς ἁγίας χειρός, ἤτοι τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ μόνου, τουτέστιν ἄνευ ταρσοῦ καὶ δακτύλων, παραδόξῳ μηχανῇ, ἤτοι δύο ξυλαρίων πτενῶν ἐπιδεσμοῦντος ἑαυτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ταληθέστερον εἰπεῖν δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι θείᾳ, καθὰ καὶ γλώσσῃ ἀληθῶς θείᾳ τε καὶ ἀοράτῳ ἀνεμποδίστως πάντῃ καὶ ἀκωλύτως φθεγγομένου, καίτοι ἀπὸ ἔσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυθμένος τμηθείσης αὐτῆς, ὡς Λεβαρνίκιος ὁ πατρίκιος Λαζικῆς μεθ' ὅρκων φρικτῶν ἀφηγήσατο ἡμῖν, οἰκονομίᾳ Θεοῦ αὐτόπτης ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενόμενος, δυσπιστῶν ἐπὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου θαύματος. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ πρωτοσεκρετάριος τοῦ πραιτωρίου τοῦ ὑπάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρὸ τούτου ἐξηγήσατο ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ὅρκων φρικτῶν, αὐτίστωρ γεγονὼς τῶν ἱερῶν παθημάτων αὐτῶν, ὡς κύριος καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῶν τοιούτων, δοξάζων καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ

[d] Cf. Rom. 4: 17

witness to Christ, our true God and Saviour, that is, when both their precious tongues, holy and truly divinely eloquent, were cut off from the inside, and their hands were cut off and they were beaten and tortured most cruelly, from which they bled while being paraded through the whole city, which in fact not even any foul criminal has ever undergone.[6] And unless God, who alone brings everything from nothingness into existence and raises the dead, had not protected them in order to shame their enemies, from this kind of roughness at their hands and from a considerable loss of blood, there being no cautery allowed them as it is usually, and no astringent applied to where both their hands and tongues had been severed in order to stop the blood, they would then and there have given up their truly holy and blessed souls to God whom they longed for. But the truly most foul and most wretched apostates of the truth did all this to them for no reason other than through envy alone, truly most evil, which the demon, the author of evil, sowed in them, just as he did in the Jews who are like them. They were unable to resist even for a short time the wisdom which had been deservedly bestowed on them by God on behalf of what is really the truth, and the only thing they did not want was to communicate with them in their impiety and godlessness, which were so public—[it was written by him] with his holy right hand which had been cut off, in other words, with the stump and that alone, that is, without palm and fingers, with amazing ingenuity, in other words by fastening two slender twigs to the stump,[7] or rather, to speak more truly, by divine power and grace, just as he also spoke with a truly divine and invisible tongue completely without hindrance and restraint, although it had been cut off from the very root from the inside. Lebarnikios, the patrician of Lazica, recounted this to us with terrible oaths, who by God's plan had personally seen this very activity, although he had been distrustful about the amazing nature of this great miracle. Moreover, Theodore too, the protosecretary of the praetorian prefect of Constantinople,[8] recounted this to us earlier, and he also swore terrible oaths, since he was aware of their holy sufferings, being the director and superintendent of matters like these. He glorified and gave thanks to God for such a miracle and for their courageous bravery, because, like a dog or a deer as a result of running a great distance, or from thirst and the heat, so they yielded and gave up their tongues, and similarly their hands, although holy Maximus was exceedingly short in stature and infirm of body, as is obvious to everyone. This is why the enemies, who were intrinsically

θαύματι καὶ εὐθάρσῳ ἀνδρείᾳ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ὥσπερ κύων ἢ ἔλαφος ἐκ δρόμου πολλοῦ καὶ δίψης ἢ καύματος οὕτως ἐχάλασαν καὶ προέδωκαν τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν καθὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καίτοι μικροφυοῦς πάνυ καὶ ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου, ὡς πᾶσιν εὔδηλον. Διὸ καὶ περισσῶς οἱ δι᾽ ἐναντίας πληγέντες τὴν φρένα ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων, ἔνδοθεν οἱ παμπόνηροι καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀπάνθρωποι, ὡς ὄντως ἄγριοι θῆρες, ἐξέτεμον ταύτας.

§5. *Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς οὕτω παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γραφείσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρων πλείστων βίβλων τε καὶ τόμων ἰδίων αὐτοῦ πονημάτων καὶ συγγραμμάτων ἱερῶν, ὧν οὐ μόνον αὐτόπται προνοίᾳ Θεοῦ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μερικῶς ἐν κλήρῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν κατ᾽ ἐπιτροπὴν αὐτοῦ ἠξιώθημεν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ ὡς τῇ αὐτῇ μεθόδῳ τε καὶ χειρί (μᾶλλον δὲ ἀληθῶς, ὡς εἴρηται, δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Μωσέως)*[e] *γραφέντων, προνοίᾳ καὶ συνεργείᾳ τοῦ μόνου παντοδυνάμου καὶ φιλαγάθου τε καὶ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιοῦντος θαυμάσια μεγάλα ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ*[f] *καὶ δοξάζοντος ἀληθῶς τοὺς δοξάζοντας*[g] *αὐτὸν ἀκλινῶς ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἔτι διάγοντος ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἤγουν τρίτῃ αὐτοῦ ἐξορίᾳ Λαζικῆς, ἐν κάστρῳ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Θουσούμης κειμένῳ ἀπάνω χωρίου Μόχοης, κλίματος Ἀψιλίας τέλους, κατ᾽ ἀνατολὰς τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν πόδα τῶν Καυκασίων ὀρέων, πλησίον τῆς τῶν φιλοχρίστων Ἀβασγῶν χώρας καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀ[λ]λανῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων πέντε τοῦ χωρίου Ζιχαχώρεως, ἤγουν τοῦ πρώτου οἴκου Γρηγορίου τοῦ ὄντως φιλοχρίστου πατρικίου καὶ μαγίστρου τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν Λαζῶν χώρας, οὗ καὶ μνήμην ἀγαθὴν ἀξίως πεποίηται ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, μεταστάντος αὐτοῦ, βίᾳ καὶ ἐπιτροπῇ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀθλίων ἀρχόντων ἕως αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τρίτῃ ἐξορίᾳ ἑπτάκις ἐν δυσχερέσι τόποις καὶ θλίψει πολλῇ, ἐν ⟨τ⟩ῷ εἰρημένῳ κάστρῳ Θουσού⟨μης⟩ ἐν Κυρίῳ κεκοίμηται αὐτός, τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνισάμενος, τὴν ὄντως ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν τηρήσας καὶ τὸν δρόμον τοῦ μαρτυρίου τελέσας*[h] *μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ ἑνδεκάτῃ, ἡμέρᾳ πρώτῃ, ὥρᾳ τρίτῃ, ῥεσκομένου ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνάξει Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης, προειπὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁγίας ἀναπαύσεως τισὶ τῶν ὄντων μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸ μηνῶν τριῶν, καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα*

[e] Cf. Ex. 31: 18 [f] Ps. 135: 4, 67: 36
[g] 1 Kings 2: 30 [h] 2 Tim. 4: 7

thoroughly wicked and truly inhuman like really wild animals, mutilated them, being extraordinarily struck by the extent and nature of the saints' readiness.

§5. As well as that letter written by him in this way, we personally not only saw by God's providence both very many of his other books and tomes containing his sacred compositions and writings, but we were also honoured to inherit parts of them, by the grace of God, in accordance with Anastasius' instructions, and at the same time some of those written by the same manual method[9]—more truly, as is said, by the finger of God, as [happened] in the case of the great Moses. [This happened] through the providence and co-operation of the one, all-powerful God, who both loves good and loves human beings, *who alone performs great wonders in his saints* and truly *glorifies those who glorify* him unswervingly in both deed and word and truth. [He wrote them] when he was still living in the last, that is to say the third, exile in Lazica, in a fort called Thousoumes which is situated above the district of Mochoes, in the border-region of Apsilia, to the east of the Pontic sea, right at the foot of the Caucasus mountains, near the land of the Abasgi, who love Christ, and the Alani people, about five miles from the district of Zichachoris, that is to say the first home of Gregory, the true friend of Christ, the patrician and *magistros* of the same land of the Lazicans. Anastasius deservedly makes a positive mention of Gregory in the letter on this subject,[10] when he was moved, forcefully and at the order of the miserable officials there before him up to his time, seven times in the same third exile, in difficult places and in a great deal of suffering. In the fort called Thousoumes, which I have mentioned, he went to sleep in the Lord, having *fought the good fight* and *kept* the truly orthodox *faith* and *completed the course* of a martyr, in the month of October on the eleventh day, on the first day [of the week], at the third hour, when '*Holy things for the holy*'[11] was being said in the holy synaxis, in the tenth indiction,[12] when he himself had predicted the day of his holy passing to certain people who had been with him three months earlier. And by most of the various miracles which, with the co-operation of the all-holy and all-efficacious Spirit, he performed both there and in his two other places of exile, I mean in Trebizond and Mesembria,[13] he converted a great many people and illuminated them by the truth.

θαύματα ⟨τ⟩ῇ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ παντενεργοῦς Πνεύματος συνεργείᾳ ποιήσας ἐκεῖσέ τε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ δυσὶν ἐξορίαις, Τραπεζοῦντι φημὶ καὶ Μεσημβρίᾳ, παμπόλλους ἐπιστρέψας καὶ φωτίσας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

§6. *Ἐνδιατρίψαντες δὲ καὶ πληρώσαντες ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ αὐτῶν ἁγίᾳ καὶ παμμακαρίστῳ, πολυϊδρώτῳ, ⟨στε⟩φανηφόρῳ ὁμολογίᾳ τε καὶ μαρτυρίᾳ, ὁ μὲν εἰρημένος ἅγιος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀποκρισιάριος Ῥώμης ἀπὸ ἕκτης ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ παρῳχηκότος κύκλου μέχρι τῆς λεχθείσης δεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος τῆς ἐνεστώσης πεντεκαιδεκα[τησ]ετηρίδος ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς προλελεγμέναις τρισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐξορίαις, μεταστάσεσι διαφόροις, θλίψεσί τε καὶ ἀνάγκαις καὶ περιστάσεσιν οὐ μετρίαις οὐδὲ ὀλίγαις ἔτη εἴκοσι, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, Θεόδωρος καὶ Εὐπρέπιος, γνήσιοι ὄντως καὶ ἅγιοι ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ Πλουτίνου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου βασιλικοῦ μάγκιπος (ἤτοι ἐπάνω ὅλων τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου μαγκίπων τῶν τὰς ἀνόνας πασῶν τῶν σχολῶν ἀπολυόντων, ὃ ἐπιλέγεται τετράνσιτον), πλούτῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ ἀξιώμασιν διαφόροις, θείαις τε ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῇ μείζονι πασῶν παρθενίᾳ κεκοσμημένοι, δι' ἧς, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀγώνων τε καὶ στεφάνων κατηξιώθησαν τιμηθῆναι ὡς ἁγνοὶ καὶ <u>καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται,</u>[1] μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἐπιστάτου αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι ἐξορίαν, οἱ πλείστας ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ καρποφορίας ποιήσαντες, βουληθέντες ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καταφυγεῖν, παραυτὰ[ς] σχεθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διωγμῷ πλησίον Ἀβύδου, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μόνην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ μὴ δὲ αὐτοὺς θελῆσαι αὐτοῖς συμμιανθῆναι τῇ προὔπτον ἀσεβείᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ γινομένῳ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πανβεβήλῳ καὶ πάντῃ ἀθέῳ βασιλικῷ Τύπῳ, καὶ δημευθέντες πάσης τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς περιουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς ἀξιωμάτων, ἐπινώτιά τε θανάσιμα παρὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου λαβόντες καὶ ἐξορισθέντες ἐν Χερσῶνι κακεῖσε βίᾳ πολλάκις χωρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν κάστροις τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρακειμένων ἐθνῶν ἀφιερωθέντες· ὁ μὲν νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἤγουν ὁ ὄντως φερωνύμως ἐν πᾶσιν Εὐπρέπιος ὀνομασθείς, πληρώσας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλοθέῳ ἀγῶνι ἔτος ἔνατον πρὸς Κύριον ἐπορεύθη μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ κϛ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ'· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ πρῶτος ἀδελφός, ὁ καὶ Θεοῦ δῶρον ἀξίως ὑπὸ Κυρίου κεκλημένος, διαρκέσας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιῶνος*

[1] Matt. 5: 8

§6. While continuing to complete this holy and all-blessed confession and witness as well, which was full of exertion and brought them crowns, the said holy Anastasius, presbyter and apocrisiarius of Rome, [survived] twenty years, from the sixth indiction of the past cycle up to the tenth indiction, as I have said, of the present fifteen-year [cycle],[14] in all of his three exiles, which I have spoken about before, and in different removals and in both sufferings and straitened circumstances and in misfortunes that were neither moderate nor few. His disciples Theodore and Euprepius, truly genuine and holy brothers, sons of Plutinus, the most blessed miller of the emperor—that is to say, the one who is above all the millers of the public treasury who distribute the grain supplies of all the schools,[15] which is called *tetransiton*—who were equipped with extravagant riches and various offices, and divine virtues and virginity, which is greater than all [these]—for which I believe they deserved to be honoured with both so many trials and crowns on behalf of Christ, because they were chaste and *pure of heart, since they will see God*—wanted to flee to Rome after the first exile of their teacher and ours as well in Trebizond, when they had donated very considerable amounts of alms and offerings. They too were stopped immediately in the same persecution near Abydos,[16] for the same reason and that alone—because they did not wish to be contaminated with them by their manifest impiety in the all-profane and completely godless imperial *Typos*, which came about at the suggestion of those from the church in Constantinople. And when they had all the property belonging to them confiscated, and the offices they used to hold, they received a deadly whipping from the eparch and were sent into exile in Cherson.[17] There, for the most part separated from each other by force, they were assigned to the forts of neighbouring peoples there. The younger brother, that is to say the one who was truly in all respects fittingly named Euprepius, when he had completed the ninth year of suffering like this out of love of God, went to the Lord in the month of October, on the twenty-sixth day, in the fourteenth indiction.[18] The other brother, who was older and who was deservedly called 'a gift of God' by the Lord, having persevered from the same sixth indiction up to the tenth indiction of the present cycle, which I have mentioned—that is to say up to the holy rest in the Lord of their all-holy Father and the superior of them and us, the priest Anastasius [sc. the Apocrisiarius], as was said—when they[19] were truly pitiable and deprived, on account of the considerable rarity and lack of a

μέχρι τῆς εἰρημένης δεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κύκλου, ἤτοι τῆς τοῦ παναγίου πατρὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτου αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν Ἀναστασίου πρεσβυτέρου, ὡς πρόκειται (τῶν ὄντως ἐλεεινῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην σπάνην καὶ ἀπορίαν τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου καὶ πάσης πνευματικῆς τροφῆς, ὡς νῦν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοτε πληροῦσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρημένον περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις[j] *δεινῶν· οὐ λιμὸν ἄρτου, οὐδὲ δίψαν ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ λιμὸν τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον Κυρίου)*,[k] *καθὼς εἴρηται, ἐν Κυρίῳ ἁγίας ἀναπαύσεως ἔτος εἰκοστὸν ἄγει ἔτι ἐνκαρτερῶν τοῖς ἀθλητικοῖς ἱδρῶσι καὶ σκάμμασιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐξορίᾳ Χερσῶνος.*

§7. *Ὅς, ἤγουν ὁ εἰρημένος πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς Θεόδωρος, καὶ οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ πλεῖστα πονήματα τῶν ἁγίων ἠξίωσεν παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ προσκύνησιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παντίμου μνήματος Μαρτίνου τοῦ κορυφαίου καὶ ὄντως οἰκουμενικοῦ πάπα καὶ μεγάλου μάρτυρος τῆς ἀληθείας.*

§8. *Οὗ καὶ θαύματα πλεῖστα ἐκεῖσε γινόμενα μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπενεχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς ἀφορήτων θλίψεων ἀφηγήσατο ἡμῖν, χαρισάμενος καὶ μέρος τοῦ ἐαθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἁγί⟨ου⟩ ὠραρίου ἤτοι φακιολίου, καὶ τὸ ἓν τῶν καμπαγίων αὐτοῦ ἤγουν καλιγίων (οἵων οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἐν ἀνθρώποις φορεῖ ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος ὁ Ῥώμης ἅγιος πάπας), διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ἐξόριστον γενέσθαι μετὰ τὸ πάνδεινα παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραπέμπεσθαι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἑαυτὸν προδεδωκότα, ὀρεγόμενον καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντα πάνυ τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτύριον, ὡς μιμητής τε καὶ διάδοχος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ πεδίον κοσσισθῆναι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀξίων δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ διαβόλου,*[l] *τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ γυμνωθέντος, καὶ βαρυσιδήρων καὶ ἁλύσεων περιτεθέντων τῷ τε ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ τραχήλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτοῦ τιμίοις μέλεσιν, εἶτα σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σιδήροις πομπεύσαντος πᾶσαν τὴν μέσην ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἕως τοῦ πραιτωρίου τοῦ ἐπάρχου, τοῦ βιγλομαγίστορος ἤγουν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν δημίων συνδεδεμένου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους προάγοντος διὰ τὸ μεληδὸν αὐτὸν κατακοπῆναι, ὁρίσαντός τε καὶ ἐπι[σ]τρέψαντος Βου[κ]κολέοντος τοῦ δυστήνου σακελλαρίου καὶ ἀξίως ὄνομα αἱμοβόρου θηρὸς ἐπικληθέντος, ὡς καὶ ἔργα θηριωδίας με⟨σ⟩τὰ κεκτημένου, εἰδήσει καὶ γνώμῃ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ*

[j] 2 Tim. 3: 1, Jam. 5: 3 [k] Amos 8: 11 [l] Cf. Jn. 8: 44

truthful word, and of all spiritual food, such that now and at no other time the Lord's words are fulfilled, concerning the evils of *the last days, no hunger for bread, nor thirst for water, but a hunger for hearing the word of the Lord*—as was said, [his brother Theodore] is spending his twentieth year holding out in the rigorous labours and crises in the same place of exile in Cherson.

§7. He, that is to say the older brother Theodore, whom I have mentioned, was kind enough to show us with his very own hand a great many written works of the saints, when we went there to visit him and venerated both him and Martin of all-precious memory, the head and truly ecumenical pope and great martyr for the truth.

§8. Theodore recounted to us also the very many miracles of Martin which happened there, as well as the unbearable tribulations which bore down on them, and he gave us as a gift a piece of a kerchief or towel, which had been left to them by the holy man [sc. Martin], and one of his boots or half-boots which no other person wears except the holy pope of Rome alone. This was because Martin too had been exiled there after terrible sufferings while he was being conveyed from Rome. He handed himself over, eagerly desiring and longing passionately to be martyred for Christ's sake, as both an imitator and successor of holy Peter, chief of the apostles, both during the sea voyage and in Byzantium itself. The upshot was that he was hit publicly by the enemies of God, who are worthy of their father the devil, and he was stripped of his clothes, and, too, heavy irons and chains were put around both his holy neck and the rest of his precious limbs. Then they led him with the same irons in procession along the whole road from the palace up to the praetorian prefecture, chained to the officer of the guard,[20] that is to say the chief executioner, and a man walked in front of him with a sword to cut him up limb from limb. The wretched finance minister Boukoleon[21] decided and permitted [this], he who was deservedly called by the name of a blood-devouring beast, as one who had also brought upon himself deeds full of bestial savagery, with the knowledge and consent of the Emperor Constantine, who produced the totally foul and totally evil *Typos*, which I have spoken about, on the advice of Paul, the wretched former president of Constantinople, with Gregory the Eunuch and eparch of the city rightly described as pitiable.[22] In fact, this would already have happened as far as both his [sc. Martin's] bold readiness

καὶ τὸν εἰρημένον παμμίαρον καὶ παγκάκιστον Τύπον ἐξ εἰσηγήσεως Παύλου τοῦ δυστήνου προέδρου γενομένου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δημιουργήσαντος, Γρηγορίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς ἀθλίας ὄντως εἰρημένης πόλεως. Ὃ καὶ ἤδη γέγονεν ἂν ὅσον τῇ εὐθάρσῳ αὐτοῦ προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ προθέσει, εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ ὑπεραγάθου Θεοῦ ῥοπὴ τούτους ἀνέστειλεν, ἢ τῇ τούτου πολυ[α]σθενεῖ ἀνδρείᾳ αἰδεσθέντων τῶν καὶ ἀντιπάλων (οἴδασιν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πάσχειν πολλάκις καὶ τύραννοι ἀπηνεῖς καὶ ἀπάνθρωποι, εἰ καὶ λίαν εἰσὶν ἄσπλαγχνοι καὶ ὠμοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοῦντα Σατᾶν), ἢ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ φθονησάντων κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῶν ἀποστάτην καὶ εἰδωλομανῆ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν περιβόητον καὶ ὄντως σοφὸν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς, ἢ κρείττον⟨ί⟩ τινι καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἐγνωσμένῃ Θεῷ τῷ πάντα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον οἰκονομοῦντι, ἀπείρῳ τε καὶ ἀφράστῳ προνοίᾳ τοῦτον διεφύλαξεν. Ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν μὲν ταῖς δυσὶ φρουραῖς, τῷ τε ἐξκουβίτῳ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ βαρυτάτῃ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, τὸν δὲ πάντα τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶν ἢ καὶ πρός, καθὼς ἔκ τε τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέντων καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πλείστων βασάνων ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐξορισθέντων στρατιωτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων, ἠδυνήθημεν γνῶναι, κεκοίμηται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ, τὴν μίαν καὶ μόνην ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίαν πανιέροις καὶ ἀληθέσι δόγμασιν συνοδικῶς καταφαιδρύνας, τά τε τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν πέντε συνόδων, τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ φημί, καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Ἐφέσῳ τε τὸ πρότερον καὶ Χαλκηδόνι, καὶ αὖθις ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων θεοσόφων τε καὶ ἐγκρίτων πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶν διδασκάλων ἱερὰ καὶ πανευσεβῆ δόγματα βεβαιώσας, καθὼς οἱ φιλευσεβῶς ἐντυγχάνειν ἐθέλοντες εὑρήσωσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πεπραγμένοις τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ συγκροτηθείσης ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πανευσεβοῦς συνόδου, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ πάσῃ χώρᾳ ταῦτα ἐκπέμψας, καὶ διαπρυσίως τὴν ἀλήθειαν φανερώσας τε καὶ κηρύξας, τὰ δὲ αἴσχη τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνακαλύψας τε καὶ στηλιτεύσας πάνυ σαφῶς, <u>τὸν καλὸν</u> καὶ πολυέραστον αὐτῷ <u>ἀγῶνα ἀγωνισάμενος</u>[m] καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον Κύριον, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξέχεεν, ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ μεγίστῃ πορευθεὶς μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ ις′ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ′, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τῆς φύλακος τῆς εὐσεβείας πολυάθλου τε καὶ ἁγνῆς παρθένου καὶ

[m] 2 Tim. 4: 7

and his purpose [were concerned], if the decisive intervention of God, who loves human beings and is supremely good, had not checked them, or the adversaries had not become ashamed by Martin's almighty bravery. I say this because even hard and inhuman tyrants are perhaps capable of experiencing even this, although they are excessively merciless and cruel in the manner of Satan who operated in them. Or they begrudged [him] martyrdom, in the manner of one similar to themselves, the apostate Julian,[23] who was crazy about idols: that infamous man, truly wise in evil matters; or God preserved him in his providence, which is both without limit and unspoken, which is something better and known only to God himself, who arranges everything for our advantage. Martin himself fell asleep in the Lord when he had done 180 days in the two prisons, both in the watch-house and in the eparch's prison, in great tribulation and most grievous ill-health, although every suffering in his struggle [lasted] for three years or even more,[24] as we are able to ascertain both from what was written about him, and also both from the Roman soldiers and his own people who with him were exiled to various places and endured a great many torments. [He fell asleep] after he had brought illumination to the one and only holy catholic and apostolic, glorious church of our God, by the all-holy and the true teachings of the synods, I mean the one in Nicaea, and Constantinople, both Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and again in Constantinople at the time of the emperor Justinian,[25] and the sacred and all-pious teachings of all the holy Fathers who are both full of divine wisdom and approved, and our true teachers, as those who wish to read reverently will find in the sacred acts of the holy and apostolic and all-pious synod which was convened by him in Rome.[26] He dispatched these [acts] to every place and to every region, and both showed and proclaimed the truth intensely, both revealing and publicising the sordid deeds of the enemy very clearly. He *fought the good fight* much loved by him, and went with the greatest joy to the Lord whom he desired, on whose behalf he poured out his own blood as far as he could, in the month of September on the sixteenth day in the fourteenth indiction,[27] on the day on which every year is celebrated the all-precious memory of Euphemia,[28] guardian of orthodoxy, who is both a great contender and a pure virgin and martyr. He was buried among the tombs of saints in the all-venerable house of Our Lady, the all-holy, inviolate, all-praiseworthy, gracious one, who is properly speaking by nature both really and truly the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, which

μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας ἡ πάντιμος μνήμη κατ' ἔτος τελεῖται, κατατεθεὶς ἐν σοροῖς ἁγίων, οἴκῳ δὲ πανσεβασμίῳ τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου καὶ πανυμνήτου κεχαριτωμένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ὡς κυρίως φύσει ἀψευδῶς τε καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἐπιλεγομένῳ Βλαχέρναις, ἔξω τειχῶν ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου ἑνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς εὐλογημένης τὸ λοιπὸν πόλεως Χερσῶνος. Ἐν ᾧ ἁγίῳ οἴκῳ καὶ ὁ μνημονευθεὶς ἅγιος Εὐπρέπιος ἀναπέπαυται πλησίον αὐτοῦ τοῦ παγκοσμίου ποιμένος τε καὶ ἀληθοῦς διδασκάλου τοῦ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν φωνὴν ἔργῳ πληρώσαντος, ἥ φησίν· Ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων.[n]

§9. *Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος καὶ ἀοίδιμος, πανάριστός τε καὶ πάνσοφος μέγας τῆς ἀληθείας συνυπέρμαχος καὶ συνμάρτυς αὐτῶν μέγιστος, ὁ καὶ Μάξιμος (τοῦτο γάρ, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ λέξει τὸ Μάξιμος ὄνομα δηλοῖ), οὗ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον μνῆμα κατὰ νύκτα λαμπάδας ἀναβλυστάνει, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας κεκοίμηται μέχρι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ πᾶσι καταφωτιζούσας καὶ φανερούσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίαν, ὡς ἡ προκειμένη παρίστησιν ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτήκοοι παρὰ πολλῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀρχόντων τε καὶ οἰκητόρων μεθ' ὅρκων τὸ τοιοῦτον παράδοξον ὄντως θαῦμα παρρησίᾳ κηρυττόντων γεγόναμεν, τῶν δὲ καὶ αὐτοψὶ θεασαμένων (ὧν εἷς ὑπάρχει καυτὸς ὁ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου Σχημάρεως κώμης Μιστριάνος, ὁ καὶ βιγλεύων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ταύτας οὐχ' ἅπαξ οὐ δὶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις θεασάμενος καὶ πᾶσι πρῶτος φανερῶς κηρύξας), ἡμῶν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντων ἐκεῖσε παραγενέσθαι διά τε τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου ἤτοι τῆς κορυφῆς τῶν Καυ⟨κα⟩σίων, οὗ ὑψηλότερον ὄρος ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἔστιν, δυσχέρειαν καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν γενομένην σύγχυσιν τότε τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις, ἅμα Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ, ἀπὸ ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ παρεληλυθότος κύκλου, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἐν τρισὶν ἐξορίαις, λέγω δὲ Βιζύῃ τε καὶ Περβερέει τῆς τῶν Θρακῶν χώρας καὶ τῇ εἰρημένῃ Λαζικῇ, ἐν πολλαῖς συντριβαῖς καὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἀνάγκαις τελέσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀθλητικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἔτη δέκα, πρὸς τὴν ἄνω βασιλείαν μετοικίσθησαν· ὁ μὲν ἅγιος Μάξιμος, καθὼς εἴρηται, μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ ιγ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ε', προειπὼν ἐκ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κοίμησιν πρὸ ἡμερῶν ιε', καθὰ πρόκειται, τὴν δὲ ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν μαρτυρίαν πρὸ*

[n] Jn. 10: 11

is called Blachernai,[29] about one stadium outside the walls of that city of Cherson, blessed as a result. In this holy house holy Euprepius too, whom I have mentioned, is laid to rest near the same shepherd who is both shared by the world and a true teacher, who fulfilled by his work the words of the Gospel which say: '*The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.*'

§9. The holy and famous, all-excellent as well as all-wise, their great fellow-contender and fellow-martyr Megistos, who is also Maximus—as has been indicated earlier, the name Maximus means this in the Latin language—whose holy tomb also displays an abundance of lights each night,[30] from the day when he fell asleep up to now and forever, giving illumination to all and showing the trust [which he enjoys] with God, as the preceding letter commends. And we personally heard [this] from both many of the officials there and the local people, who told us confidently with oaths about the truly amazing nature of this miracle, and who had seen [the lights] with their own eyes. There is one of these, a *comes*,[31] Mistrianus, himself from the same fort of Schemaris, who saw these [lights] not once or twice but many times while on night-watch with his soldiers, and was the first to tell everyone openly. But we were unable to get there because of the difficulty of that mountain, that is to say the summit of the Caucasus, than which there is no loftier mountain on earth and the winter season, not to mention the confusion which occurred there among the people in those parts.[32] Together with Anastasius his disciple, he departed[33] for the heavenly kingdom. From the eleventh indiction of the previous cycle they had similarly spent ten years in three places of exile[34]—I mean both Bizya and Perberis in the region of Thrace, and Lazica, which I have mentioned—in numerous afflictions and desperately straitened circumstances, and in strenuous struggles of this kind. Holy Maximus, as was said, [died] in the month of August, on the thirteenth day in the fifth indiction, having foretold his death by divine revelation fifteen days earlier, as can be found in the preceding [account], whereas [he had foretold] his holy martyrdom for the truth in Christ our God a considerable number of years before; and his disciple Anastasius [died] in the month of July on the twenty-fourth day in the same indiction.

ἱκανῶν ἐτῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ μαθητὴς Ἀναστάσιος μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος τῆς αὐτῆς.

§10. *Ἐστάλη γοῦν ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη πανίερος καὶ προκειμένη ἰδιόχειρος, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοχάρακτος ἐπιστολὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ θεηγόρων χρήσεών τε καὶ συλλογισμῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τρίτης αὐτῶν ἐξορίας, ἤγουν Λαζικῆς· ἣν καὶ κατέχομεν μετ' αὐτῆς ἧς ἔγραφε θεοπαραδότου μηχανῆς, ἤτοι τῶν εἰρημένων δύο ἁγίων ξυλαρίων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως ἰδιογράφων βιβλίων τε καὶ τόμων τῶν μετὰ τὸ πάθος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους πλείστων πονημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδιοχείρων συγγραμμάτων, ὡς ὄντως ἱερὰ καὶ ἅγιά τε κειμήλιά τε καὶ λείψανα. Ἀπεδόθη δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὄντως ἐλαχίστοις Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ γνησίοις καὶ ἀνοθεύτοις ἀδελφοῖς, ταπεινοῖς τε καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς μοναχοῖς, διὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τῆς τῶν Ἀλβανῶν χώρας ἐπιλεγομένης Βεταραρούως, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσει, ἡ τοιαύτη ἱερὰ ἐπιστολὴ μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ εἰκάδι ἰνδικτιῶνος ια', ἀντιπαρελθούσης ἡμᾶς, ὑποστρέψασιν ἐκ τῆς πολλάκις λεγομένης τῶν Λαζῶν χώρας, ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐκεῖσε, εἰ γὰρ καὶ λίαν ἀσθενεῖς πτωχοί τε καὶ ἀνάξιοι κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἦμεν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτῶν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπιτεθὲν ἡμῖν <u>τῆς διακονίας τοῦ λόγου</u>*[o] *βάρος κατ' ἔγγραφον πραίκεπτον ἤτοι πρόσταξιν τοῦ μνημονευθέντος ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου ἀποστολικοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης Μαρτίνου, αὐτοπροσώπως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μεγαλωνύμῳ πόλει παραγενομένων, καὶ πληροφορίαν ἰδιόχειρον περὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνοδικῶς κυρωθέντων εὐσεβῶν ἀληθῶς δογμάτων πρότερον παρ' ἡμῶν κομισαμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ [του]τὸ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ τούτου, μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐν φρουρᾷ τοῦ πραιτωρίου τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἐπιλεγομένη[s] Διομήδους, ἐξ ἧς καὶ προεπέμψαμεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διαφόρως λελεγμένην τρίτην αὐτῶν ἐξορίαν Λαζικῆς, ἀξιωθέντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς αὐτῶν ἐξορίαις καὶ παραφυλακαῖς, κόποις καὶ μόχθοις καὶ περιστάσεσιν οὐ μετρίαις, κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν δυνατόν (Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος καὶ διὰ τῶν θεοσδέκτων αὐτῶν δεήσεων ἐξελο[υ]μένου ἡμᾶς πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν παρανόμων χειρῶν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, θαλάσσης τε κινδύνων καὶ πειρασμῶν διαφόρων) διακονῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν πενιχρᾶς εὐλογίας γονικῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ Κυρίῳ, ταληθέστερον δὲ εἰπεῖν Θεοῦ δωρεᾶς καὶ*

[o] Acts 6: 4

§10. So there was sent to us from their same third place of exile, that is to say Lazica, the all-holy letter on this subject,[35] and it is set forth in his own hand, or rather [it was] written by God, with both the attached testimonies and syllogisms which speak of God. And we have it [sc. the letter] in our possession, together with the same device he used to write it, which was delivered by God, that is to say the said two holy twigs, and similarly both his other handwritten books and tomes from after the suffering, not to mention a great number of his works and his handwritten compositions from before the suffering as well, in that they are both treasures and relics [that are] truly sacred and holy as well. The sacred letter on this subject[36] was handed over to us, the truly lowly Theodosius and Theodore, legitimate and genuine brothers, both humble and sinful monks, through Father Gregory, abbot of the monastery of St John the Baptist, of the region in Albania which is called Betararous, in the holy Church of the Resurrection of Christ our God,[37] in the month of August on the twentieth day of the eleventh indiction, which passed by us as we were returning from the region of Lazica, which I have often mentioned. We had gone there, even if we were very weak and both poor and unworthy, to visit them according to our custom, not only because of the burden *of the service of the word* which was imposed on us according to the written instruction, that is to say the order of the holy and chief apostolic pope of Rome, Martin, who has been mentioned, when we came to him personally in the same city of great name, and an assurance in his own hand concerning the truly orthodox teachings ratified by the synod, which we were the first to transmit; but also because in our presence he had given us a command [to visit] them on their account, after they were found guilty [and] suffered in Byzantium in the prison of the praetorian prefect, which is called Diomedes. From the prison we also escorted them to their third place of exile in Lazica, which I have mentioned at various times. We were considered worthy to minister to them in their remaining exiles and places of detention, in their toils and troubles and considerable crises, to the best of our ability—because their prayers were received by God, God helped [us], snatching us on many occasions from the wicked hands of violent people and from dangerous seas and various trials—from the modest gift which we had from our parents, as it were in the Lord, or to speak more truly, from a gift from God and not from strangers. Moreover, [we were considered worthy] to minister also to the rest of their fellow-contenders and fellow-martyrs,

οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτῶν συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συνμάρτυσιν, καὶ αὐτόπται γενέσθαι τῶν διὰ Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν Θεὸν στιγμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ παθημάτων, ἔτι μὴν καὶ αὐτήκοοι τῆς ὄντως θεοσόφου καὶ σωστικῆς αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας ἐν πείρᾳ καταστῆναι, καὶ τῶν θεοπειθῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀληθῶς εὐπροσδέκτων εὐχῶν ἐν ἀπολαύσει γενέσθαι, καί τινων τῶν ἐν τῷ πάθει περισχισθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐσθημάτων οἰκείαις χερσὶν παρ' αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι ἅμα τοῖς τῶν περιτιθεμένων ἐν ταῖς ἰατρείαις ταῖς ἀποκοπείσαις αὐτῶν ἁγίαις χερσὶν ἡγιασμένων τε καὶ πεφοινιγμένων τοῖς αὐτῶν τιμίοις αἵμασιν παννίων. Ἀμφοτέρους δὲ συνάψαι καὶ μνημονεῦσαι οὐκ ἀσκόπως, ὡς οἶμαι, συνείδομεν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τὸ ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀθλήσει τῆς ἁγίας ὄντως καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ <u>τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς</u> τε <u>εἰρήνης</u>[p] καὶ ἀγάπης θείας γενέσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπειρον πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνυποίστῳ καὶ ἀφορήτῳ διωγμῷ διαφόροις αἰκίαις καὶ θλίψεσι φανερῶς τε καὶ κρυπτῶς μαρτυρησάντων, εὐμηχάνως τε καὶ πανούργως ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἀλληνάλλως ὡς οὐ περὶ πίστεως δῆθεν ἀλλ' ἑτέρων χάριν προφάσεων καὶ ζημιῶν προσφερομένων διὰ τὸ τῶν ἁπλουστέρων εὐάλωτον, <u>τῷ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστῃ</u>[q] καὶ μόνῳ τούτους καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πάσχουσιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισταμένῳ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς φιλοπονωτέροις καταλελοιπότες.

§11. Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἁπάντων καὶ ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὰ τῆς ὄντως ἀληθείας ἐντευξομένο⟨υ⟩ς, ὡς παρόντες καὶ προσπίπτοντες, τό τε γόνυ τῆς καρδίας σὺν τοῖς σωματικοῖς γόνασιν ἐν αἰσθήσει καρδίας καὶ δάκρυσι κλίνοντες καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἰχνῶν πάντων ὑμῶν προκυλινδούμενοι, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν, π ρ ῶ τ ο ν μὲν συγγνώμην ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι τὴν ἡμῶν οὐθένειάν τε καὶ ἀμάθειαν πρὸς πίστωσιν καὶ πληροφορίαν τῶν ὄντως πιστῶν καὶ πιστῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεχομένων, καὶ τοῦ μὴ λήθη⟨ν⟩ τῷ χρόνῳ καλύψαι τοιούτους καὶ τηλικούτους ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ τὸ πάνυ ὀλίγους καὶ σπανίους σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένους (ἡμῶν δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, βουλήσει Θεοῦ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν συνιστόρων ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἐκ ῥαθυμίας κίνδυνον ὑφορωμένων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἕτερον ὡς ἐπὶ Κυρίῳ καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον ταῦτα γράψαι τολμησάντων, μὴ εὐπορούντων βίου ἢ ἐγκωμίου ἐφικέσθαι τοιούτων καὶ τοσούτων ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγώνων τε καὶ ἱδρώτων τῶν ὄντως θαυμασίων καὶ μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἐν Κυρίῳ θείων

[p] Eph. 4: 3 [q] Susanna 42

and to witness the stigmata and the sufferings [which they endured] through Christ our true God; furthermore, to hear for ourselves their teaching, which was full of divine wisdom and saving during their period of testing; and to benefit from their prayers, which trust in God and are truly acceptable; and to receive from them, from their own hands, some of their clothes that had been torn during their suffering, together with bandages which, after the amputation, had been wrapped around their holy hands for medical purposes, which were both sanctified and reddened by their precious blood. We have resolved to commemorate jointly both Maximus and Anastasius, not in an ill-considered way, in my opinion, but because they have become one and the same in the struggle for the truly holy and orthodox faith and *in the bond of both peace* and divine love. The remainder of the infinite number of those who both publicly and privately bore witness in the said intolerable and unendurable persecution, through various beatings and afflictions, and punishments inflicted on them both by skilful devising and cunning in one way or another, as if not on behalf of the faith at all, but on other pretexts, because simpler-minded people are easy to deceive, we have left to God, who *knows secret things*, and to the more diligent. God alone knows accurately the people and the reason for which they suffer. On behalf of all these, we ask and entreat all of you who read in truth matters which are really of the truth—as if we were present and prostrate, both bending the knee of our heart with our bodily knees with heart-felt tears, and prostrating ourselves before the feet of all of you.[38]

§11. *First* [we ask and entreat] that there be a comprehensive pardon for our worthlessness and our lack of knowledge for the confirmation and assurance of those who are truly faithful and faithfully receive matters of this kind, and that in the course of time oblivion may not veil the nature and magnitude of the sacred struggles, because they are understood accurately by a very rare few. Because, as was said, by the will of God we became privy to most of these events with our own eyes, and we distrusted the danger which comes from idleness, for no other reason of any kind—[I say] by the Lord—have we dared to record these events in writing. We were unable to attain to [writing] the life and praise of such numerous strenuous struggles on behalf of orthodoxy by those truly admirable and great men, holy in the Lord, on account of the boorishness of our upbringing, and both our lack of education and of knowledge, as a result of which, more than everyone

ἀνδρῶν, διὰ τὴν σύντροφον ἡμῶν ἀγροικίαν, ἰδιωτείαν τε καὶ πάντῃ ἀμάθειαν, δι' ὧν καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄπορον ἡμῖν πρόσεστιν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, οἷς ἀρκεῖν ἡγούμεθα ἀντὶ μεγάλων βίων τε καὶ ἐγκωμίων τοῖς φιλαληθῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ἐντυγχάνειν ἐθέλουσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔνθ⟨ε⟩α καὶ ὄντως ἀκόρεστα κατὰ τῆς ⟨ἀσεβείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς⟩ εὐσεβείας πλεῖστα πονήματα καὶ συγγράμματα, ἃ καὶ μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς καὶ ἀκριβείας, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων βδε[λ]λυρῶν συγγραμμάτων, εἰ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τυγχάνομεν, κατὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν δύναμιν ἐν διαφόροις βίβλοις τε καὶ τόμοις συνεγραψάμεθα, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐρασταῖς ἐκδεδώκαμεν, εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἄληκτον αἶνόν τε καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ καὶ ὄντως <u>θαυμαστοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ</u>,[r] ζῆλόν τε καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλεῖν ἐθελόντων, αἰσχύνην καὶ ὄνειδος ἀναπόδραστον τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐχθρῶν, τάς τε ἐνστάσεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις τῶν προσενεχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς ψευδηγοριῶν καὶ ψήφων ἑώλων τε καὶ ἀσυστάτων, καὶ ἁπλῶς ἅπαντας τοὺς αὐτῶν εὐθέους καὶ ὄντως εὐσεβεῖ[α]ς ἀγῶνάς τε καὶ ἱδρῶτας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας διαφόρως πραχθεῖσιν, ἤτοι τῆς παρεισάκτου νέας αἱρετικοπανδέκτου καινοτομία[ι]ς τῶν ⟨Ἡρακλειανο⟩κυροσεργ⟨ι⟩οπυρροπαυλοπετριτῶν καὶ ἀθελητοανενεργήτων, ἢ τἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν νέων Ἐπικουρείων ἤγουν πάντῃ ἀθέων, ὡς αὐτὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πεῖρα καὶ α⟨ὐ⟩τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἀσεβῆ συγγράμματα δείκνυσιν τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα διακρίνειν εἰδόσιν, ὅπως οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς σπουδαῖοι καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δυνατοὶ ταῦτα εὑρίσκοντες καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἐκ τούτων λαμβάνοντες τὸ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ὀφειλόμενον ἀπονείμωσιν· <u>δίδου</u> γάρ φησιν <u>σοφῷ ἀφορμὴν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται</u>;[s] δεύτερον δὲ ἐκτενέσι προσευχαῖς τε καὶ ἱκεσίαις σὺν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δάκρυσι τὸν ὑπεράγαθον φύσει καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐκμειλίξασθαι Θεὸν τοῦ συμπαθῆσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν καὶ καταπαῦσαι λοιπὸν τὸν ἔτι ἐνεστῶτα δόλιον καὶ πανοῦργον, παμμήχανόν τε καὶ βαρύτατον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τοὺς προλαβόντας Ἑλληνικούς τε καὶ αἱρετικοὺς διωγμούς, ὡς γινώσκοντα τοῦ χοὸς ἡμῶν τὸ σαθρόν τε καὶ εὐόλισθον διὰ τὸ ὑπεράγαν ὕπουλον αὐτῶν καὶ παμπόνηρον, καὶ τέλος γενέσθαι στάσιν τε καὶ λῆξιν τοῦ τοιούτου πανδείνου κακοῦ τὴν δι' αὐτὸν ἔκχυσιν τῶν τιμίων αἱμάτων αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δυσωνύμων καὶ ἀθέων Ἀρειανῶν τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μάρτυρος (δι' ὅτι καὶ οἱ εἰρημένοι ἅγιοι πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ

[r] Ps. 67: 36 [s] Prov. 9: 9

[else], we are unable to express ourselves. For those who wish to read with a love of truth and of industry we think that, instead of both great lives and praises, their very many works and writings, [which are] godly and truly insatiable against ⟨impiety and on behalf of⟩ piety, will suffice. Although we are truly in all respects both of modest ability and of no account, more than everyone [else], according to the means we have we have written these down both with every care and with accuracy, both in various books and in tomes, together with the accursed writings of their enemies as well. And we have given these out to the lovers of truth, for the glory and both unceasing praise and thanksgiving of the omnipotent God and him [who is] truly *wonderful in his saints*, both for the zeal and readiness of those who wish to struggle for piety, and the shame and inevitable censure of the enemies of the truth and of God himself, the acts of both hostility and oppression contained in the lies and judgements both stale and unformed which were adduced against them, and absolutely all their godly and truly pious strenuous struggles, which consisted in afflictions brought on them in various ways by those who were against them. I mean the newly introduced, heretical all-embracing innovation of the ⟨Heraclian⟩-Cyro-Sergio-Pyrrho-Paulo-Petrines and the no-will-no-activists,[39] or, to speak more truly, the new Epicureans,[40] that is to say, of the completely godless, as the very proof of the matters and the impious writings of the enemies demonstrate to those who know how to discern matters of this kind. Our purpose [sc. in giving these out] is that when those who come after us, who are studious and skilled in words, find these [writings] and seize the opportunity from them, they may render to God and the saints what is owed. For '*give an opportunity to the wise and he will be wiser*', it says.

Second, [we ask and entreat you to] appease God, who is supremely good by nature and generous, by both assiduous prayers and supplications, with good works and tears, so that he may have compassion on our weaknesses and therefore put a stop to [the persecution] which still threatens, cunning and crafty, both completely devious and more serious than all preceding persecutions, both those of the pagans and those of the heretics; he knows that our dust is both feeble and unsteady, because of their deceitfulness, which is beyond measure and depraved. And let there be both an end to the sedition and a close to such a completely atrocious evil, by which their precious blood has been poured out, just as happened under the hateful and godless Arians with the [pouring out of the blood] of holy

ἀληθῶς τῆς εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλοι, ἐξαιρέτως ὁ ἀποστολικὸς καὶ κορυφαῖος ἡμῶν πάπας Ῥώμης Μαρτῖνος ὁμοίως ἑαυτὸν εἰς θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πιστοῦ λαοῦ παρέδωκεν, ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ ἀγωνοθέτῃ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρῳ μιμησάμενός τε καὶ ἀκολουθήσας ἐν πᾶσιν, οὗ καὶ διάδοχος ὡς ⟨ἀληθῶς⟩ ἄξιος γέγονεν), εἰρήνην τε βεβαίαν καὶ ἄλυτον ἕνωσιν ταῖς ἁπανταχοῦ ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαις δωρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ συγχωρῆσαι τοῦ λοιποῦ μέχρι τέλους αἵρεσιν τὴν οἱανοῦν ἀναφυῆναι, διά τε <u>τὸ πλῆθος τῶν</u> αὐτοῦ <u>οἰκτιρμῶν</u>[t] καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν γενεὰν ἀσθενές τε καὶ εὐρίπιστον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως· τρίτον δὲ τοῦ ἀτρέπτους μέχρι παντὸς φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ πάντας τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐν τῇ ὄντως ἁγίᾳ ὀρθοδόξῳ τε καὶ ἀμωμήτῳ ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μόνῃ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ πίστει, ἀφέσεώς τε ἁμαρτιῶν ⟨τυχεῖν⟩ καὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τῶν ἀληθῶς ἁμαρτωλῶν, δούλων πάντων ὄντως ὀρθοδόξων καὶ γνησίων προσκυνητῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τοῦ <u>τοὺς</u> ὄντως <u>δοξάζοντας</u> αὐτὸν μεγάλως ἐν ἀληθείᾳ <u>δοξάζοντος</u>.[u] Ὧι πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, προσκύνησίς τε καὶ εὐχαριστία ἐν αἰσθήσει καρδίας καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, φόβῳ τε καὶ τρόμῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει κατὰ τὸ προφητικὸν λόγιον, ἔτι μὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα καὶ πίστει τελείᾳ ὡς κορυφῇ καὶ τελειωτικῇ πασῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ μόνῃ ὁδηγῷ σωτηρίας, σὺν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ φιλοικτίρμονι συμπαθεστάτῳ τε καὶ εὐσπλάγχνῳ ὑπὲρ φύσιν Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ ζωοποιῷ τε καὶ παντοδυνάμῳ θείῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Scholion. Expliciunt commemorationes de sanctis papa Martino et Maximo monacho, seu Anastasio itemque Anastasio discipulis eius, atque Euprepio et Theodoro germanis.

[t] Ps. 50: 3, 68: 17 [u] 1 Kings 2: 30

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria and martyr.[41] It was on this account that our said holy Fathers too, [who are] also in truth the teachers of piety, especially our apostolic and chief pope of Rome, Martin, similarly gave himself up as a sacrifice on behalf of the faithful, both imitating in all respects and following in all respects Christ our God, who presides over the contest,[42] and Peter the chief of the apostles, whose successor he also became because he was ⟨truly⟩ worthy. May [God] grant both lasting peace and indissoluble unity to his holy churches everywhere, and not allow heresy of any kind to grow again in the future until the end of time, because of both *the number of his mercies*, and both the weakness and fickleness of our nature, which surpasses that of every generation.

Third, [we ask and entreat] that we be kept unmoved forever, and all those who are pious in our truly holy and blameless Christian faith, which alone is catholic and apostolic; and that we may obtain both the forgiveness of sins and salvation, we who are truly sinners, servants of all who are really orthodox and genuine worshippers of Christ the true God and our saviour, who really *glorifies those who glorify* him magnificently and in truth. To him belong all glory, honour, might, greatness, majesty in heaven and on earth, both adoration and thanksgiving in the feeling of the heart and in truth itself, with both fear and trembling and rejoicing, according to the saying of the prophet; moreover with a perfect faith, too, which exceeds all things, in as much as it is the chief and perfecter of all virtues and the sole guide to salvation. Together with the Father, who is immortal and prone to pity, both compassionate and tender-hearted beyond nature, and the divine Spirit, who is all-holy and consubstantial, both life-giving and omnipotent, now and always and until the never-ending age of ages, amen.

Scholion.[43] The commemorations give information about the saints Pope Martin, and Maximus the monk, and his disciples Anastasius and Anastasius, and the brothers Euprepius and Theodore.

CONTRA CONSTANTINOPOLITANOS (*CPG* 7740)

Κατὰ Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου, στηλιτευτικὸν ὑπό τινος μοναχοῦ, ἐκ δριμύξεως καρδίας συγγραφέν.

§1. *Οἱ μὴ τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνιέντες ὡς θέμις, τὸ ψεῦδος δήπουθεν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρημένης ἀσπάζονται. Ὅταν γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀναξία ᾖ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ῥαθυμίαν ἐλλάμψεως, ἀγνωσίας πληροῦται καὶ σκότους· καὶ βλέπει τὸ φῶς σκότος, καὶ τὸ σκότος φῶς. Καὶ ὃν τρόπον τοξότης ἄσκοπος, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ νευρὰν τείνων εὔεικτον, τὴν βολὴν ἀστόχως βάλλει καὶ ἀτέχνως· οὕτως καὶ αὐτὴ λόγους καὶ ἔργα προβαλλομένη, καμπύλα καὶ λοξώδη καὶ ἀσυνάρτητα ταῦτα προτείνεται, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς σταγόνα οὐράνιον καταξιωθεῖσιν ὑποδέξασθαι. Ὅπερ δὴ πέπονθεν ὁ ἀλογώτατος καὶ ἀσυνετώτατος καὶ εὐηθέστατος βασιλεύς, καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἐπιφάνιον, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀποφάνιον, τὸν πυρίκαον ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίκιον, καὶ Θεοδόσιον τὸν ὑπόσκοπον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπίσκοπον, τῶν τὸν ἅγιον Μάξιμον καὶ τρίτον θεολόγον γλωσσοδεξιότμητον δρασάντων, καὶ τοῖν δυοῖν Ἀναστασίοιν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνόθων φοιτητῶν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι ψηφισάντων.*

§2. *Τί γάρ, ὦ οὗτοι, ἵνα μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαλέξωμαι ἐξ ἀνίας καὶ ἀλύης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης, ἀσεβὲς ἐν τοῖς ἐγκρίτοις καὶ θεολογικοῖς καὶ ψυχωφελέσιν αὐτοῦ δόγμασι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς καὶ γνωστικοῖς καὶ θεοπρεπέσι νοήμασιν ἐξηύρατε ὡς γραφῆς ἄτοπον, ἵνα τοιαύτῃ ἀπανθρώπῳ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν δίκαιον ὡς δύσχρηστον ἀποκόψητε;*[a] *Σπέρματα πονηρά,*[b] *ἀμβλωθρίδια ἀτέλεστα, πτηνὰ νυκτοπορινά, γῆς ἔντερα, κοιλίαι ἀργαί, τραπεζογίγαντες*

Witnesses: *SC*

[a] Cf. Is. 3: 10, Wis. 2: 12

[b] Is. 1: 4

AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*CPG* 7740)

A work of invective in defence of our holy Father Maximus, written out of bitterness of heart by a monk.

§1. Those who don't understand the truth as they should will, I assume, embrace falsehood instead of the truth that has been told. For when a soul is unworthy of God's illumination because of its own indifference, it is filled with ignorance and darkness, and perceives light as darkness and darkness as light. Just as an aimless archer shoots the arrow without aim and without skill, even though he has tensed the yielding bowstring for his purpose, so too when the soul shoots forth words and deeds, it puts them forward as crooked and oblique and disconnected, and in particular with regard to those who have been deemed worthy to receive a piece of heaven.[1] Indeed this is what befell the most irrational, most unintelligent, and most silly emperor,[2] and the companions of Epiphanius—I should say Apophanius—[3] the arsonist but not a patrician[4] and Theodosius the underseer but not the overseer,[5] who cut off at the root the tongue of holy Maximus, the third theologian,[6] and those of the two Anastasii, his disciples from the beginning, [and] condemned them to the same punishment.

§2. My purpose is to address a few words to you [people of Constantinople], out of a grief and a greater-than-usual distress. What impiety did you find in his approved theological and spiritual teachings, or in his moral, mystical, or exegetical ideas, that was foreign to Scripture, such that you cut off[7] the just man with such an inhuman punishment, as if he were a troublemaker? You *seeds of wickedness*, incomplete abortions, birds that travel by night, intestines of the earth, idle bellies, giants of the table, and hunters of women.[8] Look, take up his book *Difficulties*, which every creature has admired and continues to admire, and it will be admired still.[9] Consider his two *Centuries*, in

καὶ γυναικοϊέρακες. Ἰδοὺ μετὰ χεῖρας τῶν Ἀπόρων ἡ βίβλος αὐτοῦ, ἣν πᾶσα φύσις ἐθαύμασεν καὶ θαυμάζει, καὶ ἔτι θαυμαστωθήσεται. Ἴδε αἱ δύο πρὸς ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἑκατοντάδες, ἃς οὐ λέγω τοὺς ἀναξίους ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄγαν ἐγκρίτοις ἐφάνησαν τίμιαι. Ὁ δὲ τῶν ψήφων κώδηξ σιγῇ τιμάσθω· τὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν τῇ φύσει δύναμιν καθιστάμενα, ὕβριν ὑπομένει καὶ ἐπαινούμενα.

§3. *Ἡ ὑμῶν ὤφειλεν τμηθῆναι δεξιά, ὡς ἁφῇ λυσσῶσα, ὡς ἄγει ἵνα μὴ λέγω διὰ τὸ δύσφημον παντὶ μεμολυσμένη, ὡς ὑποδόχος τῆς δευτέρας εἰδωλολατρίας. Ἐχρῆν τοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαι ὀφθαλμούς, ὡς προχειρότατον τοῦ διαβόλου ὄργανον, ὡς ἀσελγείας πρόδρομον, ὡς λυσσώδους λαγνείας διάνευμα. Τὴν ὑμῶν καθῆκεν ἔνδοθεν γλῶτταν τεμεῖν, ὡς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναχθεῖσαν, κἀκεῖθεν ἀποριφθεῖσαν, ὡς τρέφουσαν πόνον καὶ κόπον, καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐν λάρυγγι διωθοῦσαν, καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐγκισσῶσαν, καὶ ἀργὰ καὶ πτωχοκτόνα διαλοχοῦσαν. Τὸν νῶτον ὑμῶν ἐχρῆν διασπαραχθῆναι, καὶ τὸ θυμοῦ γέμον στηθύνιον, ὡς ὄχημα δαιμόνων, ὡς ὄφεως ἑρπυστήριον, ὡς δαιμόνων σκρινητήριον, ὡς ἀσεβείας χαρτοφυλάκειον.*

§4. *Τοιαῦτα σου, ἑπτάλοφε Βαβυλών, τὰ αὐχήματα· τηλικαῦτα ἀνόσια καὶ κοσμοβόρα θηλάζεις ἔγγονα. Αἵμασιν ἁγίοις κομᾷς, τῷ λύθρῳ τῶν ὁσίων ἀνασκιρτᾷς. Πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἀδίκως ἐκένωσας, καὶ οὐ καταπτήσσεις; πᾶς ὅστις δίκαιος παρὰ σοῦ ἐδιώχθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐρυθριᾷς; ἀλαζονεύῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις· σκάζεις, καὶ χειρονομῇ· λοχᾷς, καὶ ῥητορεύεις· σφάζεις, καὶ φιλοσοφεῖς· γλωττοτομεῖς, καὶ κοινωνεῖς· δεξιάν, Θεοῦ ἀλήθειαν λέγω, ἐκτέμνεις, καὶ Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀνεπαισθήτως κράζεις. Ἀλλὰ σὲ μὲν καὶ τοὺς σοὺς ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀδιάδραστος δικάσῃ δίκη· τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογητὰς καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον μάρτυρας ἡ αἰώνιος Χριστοῦ ὑποδέξηται βασιλεία· ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐπιτύχοιμεν διὰ τῶν εὐπροσδέκτων αὐτῶν παρακλήσεων ἀμήν.*

addition to the four [centuries],[10] which shine forth as precious objects to those who are supremely authoritative—I don't mean you because you are unworthy. Let the book of decrees be honoured by silence,[11] for these writings, although they surpass the authority which is inherent in their nature, suffer outrage even while being commended.[12]

§3. It's *your* right hand that should have been cut off because it's rabid when it touches, because, being totally defiled, it leads to (I can't say it because it's shameful), because it accommodates a second act of idolatry.[13] It's *your* eyes that should have been gouged out, because they are the most accessible tool of the devil, because they are the forerunner of licentiousness, because they are an incitement to rabid lechery. It would have been fitting for *your* tongue to be cut off from the root, because it was raised to heaven and rejected from there,[14] because it nourished toil and trouble, and forced pleasure through your throat, and gave birth to blasphemy, and brought forth words that are idle and murderous for the poor. It's *your* back that should have been torn to pieces,[15] and *your* breast, full of anger, because it is the vehicle of demons, because it is the creeping place of the serpent, because it is the registry of demons, because it is the archive of impiety.

§4. Such, O seven-hilled Babylon, are your boasts, Such are the unhallowed offspring that you suckle, which are gluttonous for the world. You preen yourself on the blood of saints, you skip for joy at the gore of holy people. You empty all the blood of the just in an unjust manner, and you don't cower in fright? Every person who is just has been persecuted by you, and you don't blush? You make false claims, and you don't acknowledge it; you stumble, and you use your hands for support; you prepare traps, and you practise oratory; you slaughter, and you philosophize; you cut out tongues, and you share communion; you cut off the right hand (I mean God's truth) and you call out '*Holy things for the holy*'[16] without perceiving what you're doing. But God's inevitable judgement will judge you and your companions, whereas Christ's eternal kingdom will welcome the confessors, who are no less than martyrs. May we too—*if I may dare to say it*[17]—attain that kingdom through their prayers of intercession which are acceptable [to God], amen.

NOTES

RECORD OF THE TRIAL

1. Probably the domed hall in the imperial palace later called the Trullanum, where the Quinisext Council was held in 691/2 (Brandes, 180).
2. These were *mandatores* or subaltern officials employed for special missions. Imperial *mandatores* appear on seals from the seventh to the ninth centuries (*ODB* 1281).
3. *Excubitores* were the imperial guards, a select corps created by Leo I under the command of a *comes excubitorum*, later identified as the δομέστικος τῶν Ἐξκουβίτων, first recorded in 765 (*ODB* 646).
4. The *sacellarius*' role had by this time passed from the role of imperial treasurer to general controller of imperial affairs: see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'Eglise byzantine, Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 11 (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1970), 310. Brandes, 162, suggests that this official is to be identified with the *sacellarius* Boukoleon, who conducted Pope Martin's trial in 654; cf. *Comm.* §8.
5. On Peter, patrician and *dux Numidiae*, see *PLRE* 3. 1013, no. 70. Before his death in 637, he again ascended to the exarchate (Brandes, 183 n. 268). John, as *sacellarius* of Peter, possibly had financial responsibilities as well as administrative ones: see Brandes, 184 n. 273, on this provincial office, as distinct from the imperial finance-minister.
6. i.e. Emperor Heraclius (610–41).
7. This refers to events of 633 ('if from a false accusation one may adduce evidence': Sherwood, *Date-List*, 40).
8. These letters do not survive, if they ever existed. However, there are two other extant letters of Maximus (*Ep.* 12 and *Ep.* 13) to Peter the Illustrious, who seems to be the same character as Peter the Patrician, mentioned in n. 5 above. See Sherwood, *Date-List*, nos. 30 and 40.
9. Brandes, 185 n. 21, notes that the surname is perhaps related to the Mesopotamian city Μάγουδα on the Euphrates: see F. H. Weisbach in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (1928), 519–20.
10. This refers to events of 646 when Gregory, the exarch of Africa, rose in rebellion against the Emperor Constans II. Gregory was killed in the Arab incursions in the following year. In July 645, Gregory presided over the debate between Maximus and Pyrrhus in Carthage, in which Pyrrhus was

persuaded to abandon his monothelite position. Pope Theodore (642–9) received Pyrrhus' written renunciation of his former error, and wrote on his behalf to the emperor. Two of the pope's letters on the subject of Pyrrhus, one to Paul, his successor as patriarch of Constantinople, and the other to the bishops who consecrated Paul, survive in the Latin *Collectanea* translated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *PL* 129. 577–82; 581–4.

11. Originally a military office, the title of *kandidatos* on seals 'is usually connected with subaltern offices both in the army and the civil service.' (*ODB* 1100). A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* 1 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964; repr. 1973), 613 describes the original forty white-robed *kandidati* as the emperor's personal bodyguard. John the *kandidatos* does not figure in the entries up to the year 641 covered by *PLRE* 3.
12. This can also mean 'brother-in-law'.
13. Theodore Chila is only mentioned here. Brandes, 192 n. 316, notes that Plato was exarch of Ravenna (645–9?), and his presence in Constantinople is recorded in 649 (according to Duchesne, *LP* 1. 337, l. 11) and 653, during the trial of Pope Martin (*Commemoration of Pope Martin* (*BHL* 5592–4), in *PL* 129. 598B1–2). Plato occasionally functioned as the Emperor Constans II's consultant on Italian affairs.
14. μυττία and λαιμία are *hapaxlegomena* and are not found in the lexica, although alternative readings βυτία and λαιβία are cited from this text in Lampe, 306 and 790. Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin translation (*muttiens et subsannationes*) is little help in determining the sense.
15. The secular exarch was the head of the exarchates created at the end of the sixth century in Carthage and Ravenna. However, it seems that the term *exarch* here means the ecclesiastical exarch, the chief bishop of a civil diocese. This title was given to both metropolitans and patriarchs exercising authority over a wide area (*ODB* 767) and probably refers to the patriarch of Constantinople in this instance, although it has been suggested that the title was abandoned by the sixth century in favour of 'patriarch' (ibid.).
16. The *primicerius* was the head of a government department (Lampe, 1131). By the end of the seventh century the *primicerius notariorum* was the head of the notaries and the chancellery (Darrouzès, *Recherches*, 355 f.). No record of the letter mentioned here survives. See *ODB* 1719 f. on the various types of *primicerius*.
17. On Gregory's office as secretary (*asekretis*), see §8. Brandes, 194 n. 329, makes the plausible suggestion that he brought the *Typos* with him on his visit to Rome.
18. i.e. the patriarch.
19. The *Typos* of Emperor Constans II (*CPG* 7621), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 208. 1–210. 15, was written in 647/8 under the direction of Patriarch Paul II and enjoined silence on the issue of the number of wills and activities in Christ.
20. Lit. 'Don't throw me into the woods.'

21. Cf. *Exposition of the Faith of the 150 Fathers at Constantinople*, *ACO* 2. 1. 2, p. 128 lines 2–3.
22. *Letter of Arius and Euzoius to Emperor Constantine* in Socrates, *HE* 1. 26. 2, ed. G. C. Hansen, *GCS* 1 (1995), 74. 3–5; and Sozomen, *HE* 2. 27. 6, ed. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen, *GCS* 4 (1995), 89. 9–11; and cf. Socrates, *HE* 2. 30. 9, ed. Hansen, 142. 11–12.
23. Sozomen, *HE* 3. 19, ed. Bidez and Hansen, 133; cf. Socrates *HE* 2. 37. 23, ed. Hansen, 155. 3–7, where the emperor in question is Constantius rather than his father Constantine the Great.
24. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 538 n. 17, cites this text as evidence of 7th-cent. use of this formula in the Byzantine liturgy.
25. See Lampe, 1534, s.v. *χρίω* 9b.vii, for this practice.
26. i.e. foreshadowing or symbol.
27. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 538 n. 13, refers to this mention of the reading of the Byzantine diptychs during the offertory; R. F. Taft, SJ, *A History of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom* 4: *The Diptychs*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 238 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1991), 104 and 177–8.
28. On the role of Menas, described elsewhere in these documents as 'monk' or 'Father', Brandes, 181, remarks that as a cleric he could hardly have been a member of the senate, but he was present during the trial of 655, and spoke briefly against Maximus and his disciple Anastasius (see §10). His theological objections to Maximus were raised outside the actual trial. He seems to have been a consultant to the senate on theological matters. See also *Dispute* §15 for his role in informing those in the palace about the terms of an agreement offered by John the Consiliarius to Maximus.
29. This was an insult often hurled in monastic circles. Maximus in fact wrote against the Origenists who followed Evagrian teachings on prayer and ascetic theology, but, as Louth remarks in *Maximus*, 38, 'He was a critic with great sympathy for what he criticized', and often used Origenist language and concepts in his rejection of their intellectualism (ibid. 66–8). His corrections to Origenism can be found in the *Centuries on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation of the Son of God* (*CPG* 7694) in *PG* 90. 1084–1173; *Ambigua* (*CPG* 7705), in *PG* 91. 1032–1417, and the study of P. Sherwood, *The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and His Refutation of Origenism*, *Studia Anselmiana* 36 (Rome: Herder, 1955); for discussion of his views on Origenist eschatology, see B. Daley, 'Apokatastasis and "Honorable Silence" in the Eschatology of Maximus the Confessor', in Heinzer–Schönborn, *Maximus Confessor*, 309–39; and more generally, J. M. Garrigues, 'La personne composée du Christ d'après saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Revue Thomiste* 74 (1974), 181–204, esp. 181–4.
30. The name 'Eucratas' is indicative of a strong attachment to the Council of Chalcedon, and was also used of John Moschus and Sophronius of Jerusalem. See H. Chadwick, 'John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the

Sophist', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 25 (1974), 59 and n. 1.

31. This office had obviously exceeded its previous limit of imperial steward. Sergius is the earliest-known holder of this office, which was reserved for eunuchs: Brandes, 201 n. 386.
32. The Greek word θρόνος has been translated here and elsewhere as 'see'.
33. i.e. *Satisfactio* or *Assurance* (*CPG* 7613), *ACO* ser. 2, 2/2. 594. 17–600. 20. The *Nine Chapters* declared the basis for the Alexandrian *Pact of Union* in June 633, a monoenergist compromise which provided the basis for reconciliation between the imperial church, represented by Patriarch Cyrus, and the Theodosian party.
34. The *Ekthesis* of Sergius (*CPG* 7607), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 156. 20–162. 13, issued in 638.
35. i.e. in 647/8. See Winkelmann, no. 106. On the *Typos*, see n. 19 above.
36. Cf. *Encyclical Letter of Pope Martin* (*CPL* 1733), *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 416. 2–3.
37. i.e. the Lateran synod of 649.
38. The apocrisiaries (i.e. representatives of the pope in Constantinople) of Eugenius I, who had been elected bishop of Rome in August 654, although his predecessor Martin I had not yet been deposed from office.
39. These papal emissaries did not have vicarious powers, serving merely as messengers between the pope and the imperial court.
40. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Tractatus ad Zenodorum* (fragment) 4–10, ed. F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938), 14–15; Anastasius of Sinai, *Capita adversus Monotheletas*, 7. 3. 7–13, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasii Sinaitae sermones duo in constitutionem hominis . . . CCSG* 12 (Turnhout and Leuven: Brepols, 1985), 120; Maximus the Confessor, *Opusculum* 27, *PG* 91. 281A5–15; and cf. *Ep. Max.* n. 5.
41. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De divinis nominibus*, 4. 25, ed. B. R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum* I, *PTS* 33 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1990), 173. 3–5.
42. In cases where εὐσεβής and εὐσέβεια mean respectively 'pious' and 'piety' in a narrow and technical sense, we have translated them as 'orthodox' and 'orthodoxy'.
43. The *asekretis* of the court replaced the *referendarii* (or imperial secretaries, an office created by Julian and generally thought to have disappeared after 600: see *ODB* 1778), and 'formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries positioned higher than imperial notaries' (*ODB* 204). The term first appears in the sixth century, and there is mention of an *asekretis* at the Third Council of Constantinople (680/1). See §4, on Maximus' discussion with Gregory in Rome.
44. The location of this place (cf. Latin *Bellas*) has not yet been identified. It may possibly be the monastery of St Sabbas (if the Greek is more accurate than the Latin translation) in Rome, as Garrigues suggested in 'Maxime', 411 n. 9 and 421. See the explanations of Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1980), 86 n. 195, and Brandes, 202 n. 392.

45. This is the only extant fragment of the purported *Letter of Emperor Heraclius to Pope John IV*, dated 640/1 (*CPG* 9382). See the bibliography on the alleged letter in Brandes, 203 n. 399.
46. Heraclius was involved in fighting the Muslim invasions in the East during the mid 630s, when Damascus fell (635), followed by Jerusalem (638).
47. Cf. *Letter of Pope John IV to Emperor Constantine III* (*CPG* [9383] = *PL* 80. 602–7 and *PL* 129. 561–6), in a retroversion from Greek by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The letter makes an apology for Pope Honorius and makes a protest against the Patriarch Pyrrhus.
48. Or 'on another Saturday'.
49. i.e. Peter, patriarch of Constantinople (654–66), and another unidentified patriarch, probably Macedonius, the monothelite patriarch of Antioch, who was in permanent residence in Constantinople from after 639 until after 662: Brandes, 182 n. 261, and van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 108 and n. 8.
50. On Menas see §5 and *Dispute* §15. Constantine is not mentioned elsewhere.
51. On the *Libellus* of Anastasius the Disciple, see *Dispute* §12 and n. 42; cf. Winkelmann, no. 125.
52. i.e. the great Roman basilicae of John Lateran and Mary Major, respectively.
53. Demosthenes, whom Brandes, 175 and 181 n. 251, has identified as in all likelihood the same ἀντιγραφεύς as had appeared in Martin's trial, described in the record of that trial as *rescriptor et collaborator sacellarii* (*Commemoration of Pope Martin*, *PL* 129. 597B13–14.)
54. Lit. 'which the Roman empire does not extend a step beyond'. Perberis did not survive after the ninth century, and its location is not now known: see V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, 'Un évêché peu connu en Thrace orientale—*Πέρβερις*', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 9 (Bucharest, 1971), 595–9; repr. in ead., *Byzance et les Balkans à partir du VIᵉ siècle, Collected Studies Series* 94 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), ch. 24.

DISPUTE AT BIZYA

1. The lesser-known Caesarea, south-west of Nicaea.
2. The honorific title of consul (ὕπατος) was granted to two men each year by the emperor. The consuls were responsible for the fulfilment of public duties such a presenting banquets, distribution of the consular diptychs (until 541), and organization of public games (*ODB* 525, s.v. 'Consul').
3. i.e. the consuls Paul and Theodosius mentioned in §2.
4. i.e. in 647/8.
5. i.e. patriarch.
6. Sergius I (610–38), Pyrrhus (638–41), Paul II (641–53), Pyrrhus (second patriarchate in 654). See van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 1–105.

7. That is to say, the terminology appropriate for the Trinity, and for the saving work of Christ in his Incarnation.
8. Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* 4. 1 (*CPG* 2837), cf. *ACO* 1, 262, 4; Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Contra Diodorum ad Heraclium* (*CPG* 3656), ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 235–6 (fragment 117) = Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, c. 12, xx. 77. 12.
9. Cf. *Record* §7.
10. Ps.-Dionysius, *On the Divine Names*, 8. 5, ed. B. R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum* 1, *PTS* 33 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1990), 203. 2–4.
11. Sc. will or activity.
12. These endorsed the *Ekthesis* of Sergius, issued in 638. Only a fragment of Pyrrhus' synodal decree survives (*CPG* 7615), Mansi 10. 1001C11–1004B4, on which see Grumel, no. 294.
13. Or 'of those points'.
14. i.e. the Lateran Synod convened by Pope Martin I in 649.
15. In 335 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC* 855).
16. In 341 (see O. Pasquato, *EEC* 49).
17. In 359 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC* 767).
18. This council held in 360, confirmed the Council of Rimini (359) (see M. Simonetti, *EEC* 195). Eudoxius of Antioch had called a pro-Arian Council in Antioch in 357, which approved the formula of Sirmium (357). He was called in at the Council of Constantinople to replace the homoiousian patriarch of Constantinople, Macedonius.
19. A council held in Thrace between 357 and 360.
20. This council, held in 357, proscribed the terms 'homoousios' and 'homoiousios' which had created such division in the church (see M. Simonetti, *EEC* 783).
21. The so-called 'Robber Synod' of 449 (see M. Simonetti, *EEC* 275).
22. Paul of Samosata, the monarchian bishop of Antioch, was condemned at a number of synods between 264 and 268 for heresy and immorality (M. Simonetti, *EEC* 663). Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to the first council, but declined on the grounds of ill health, and died soon afterwards, in 264 or 265 (P. Nautin, *EEC* 238). Gregory the Wonder-Worker took part in the first synod against Paul; when the last one was held, he may have already died (H. Crouzel, *EEC* 368). According to Eusebius, *HE* 7. 7, Pope Dionysius (259/60–267/8) never received the letter of the Synod of Antioch in 268 which condemned Paul (B. Studer, *EEC* 237).
23. This was first stipulated by canon 5 at Nicaea in 325, but it was frequently repeated. See Tanner, 96* n. 1.
24. This is the *Logos dogmatikos* falsely attributed to Patriarch Menas (536–52).
25. *Commentary on John 4. 2*, ed. Pusey, vol. 1, 203. 4 (= Mansi 12. 525).
26. Any exegesis of Timothy Aelurus (d. 477), one of the most vociferous and active proponents of the one-nature christology, would have been unaccept-

able to Maximus and those who opposed the doctrine of one activity in Christ.

27. Here and in what follows it is a question of distinguishing between literal and allegorical exegesis.
28. The source is unknown, but is possibly Cyril of Alexandria.
29. i.e. the proceedings of the Lateran Council of 649.
30. In 381 the First Council of Constantinople referred to the 'gospel faith established by the 318 fathers at Nicaea' (Tanner, 28*). The Council of Ephesus in 431 endorsed this view (Tanner, 65*). More generally canon 1 of the Council of Chalcedon decreed that 'the canons hitherto issued by the saintly fathers at each and every synod should remain in force' (Tanner, 87*).
31. On the reading of the diptychs after the offering at the eucharistic table see Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 538 n. 13.
32. A technical term for an imperial dispatch or rescript; *παρακλητικὴν* carries the sense of 'supplicatory' when used in this phrase, rather than the more usual 'hortatory'. Cf. Lampe, 1018, s.v. *παρακλητικός*; and cf. n. 37 in §8.
33. This resembles certain formulations of the Cappadocian Fathers, e.g. Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Dogmatica Minora* 3/1 (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 207. 8–9. However, the best match we found was a passage from the *Syllogisms* of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius: *PL* 129. 677B3–4.
34. Cf. Maximus' writings on the Agony in the Garden, in *Op.* 7, *PG* 91. 81C–84A, translated by Louth, *Maximus*, 187.
35. While this is the majority reading in the Greek tradition, a single Greek manuscript (*X*) bears the right reading, which agrees with the Latin: 'understands the union as being natural, but not dispositional.'
36. This is a reference to Eutyches, the alleged founder of monophysitism, and his adherents.
37. Cf. n. 32 in §4 for another instance of this technical term.
38. R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, Part I: *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, vol. 3: *Les Églises et les monastères*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2nd edn. (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1969), 150 f., identifies the monastery of St Theodore 'which is situated near Rhegium' with Procopius' church of St Theodore in Rhesion, also called St Theodore of Bathys Rhyax by Anna Comnena. The church of St Theodore was located near Bakirköy (ancient Macrikeuy) or closer, at the *aghiasma* of St Paraskevi, called Çobanagiasmasi. Janin rejected the reading of 'Rhegium', which was located more than twenty kilometres from the capital, and could not, he claimed, be reached in a day as described here, nor would the inhabitants of Constantinople have travelled so far for their procession on a Sunday. See *ODB* 1788.
39. These two officials of high rank played an important role in Maximus' first trial, as indicated in *Record* §2 and *passim*.

40. The vestibule at the main entrance of the Great Palace of Constantinople (*ODB* 405 f.)
41. Sc. in Constantinople.
42. i.e. the *Libellus* of Anastasius the Disciple; cf. *Record* §10. It contains a condemnation of the *Typos* of 648, and was adduced at the Lateran Synod. The subscriptions to a document adduced in the *Acts of the Lateran Synod* in *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 57, include the names of Maximus and two Anastasii. This *Libellus* is presented to the synod by John, priest of St Sabbas, Theodore, a priest of the holy Lavra in Africa, Thalassius, a priest of the Armenian monastery in Rome called Renati, and George, a priest of the monastery of Cilicia on the Aquae Salviae in Rome. See Winkelmann, no. 125, for a brief entry on the *Libellus* of Anastasius.
43. i.e. 13 Sept. 656.
44. On Mesembria, see P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 6: *Thrakien*, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 221 (Vienna: Akademie Verlag, 1991), 355–9. The whereabouts of Perberis is no longer known; cf. *Record* §13 and n. 54.
45. Constans II's grandmother was actually Eudocia, the first wife of Heraclius, but here the reference may be to Martina, who was treated as the mother of the younger Heraclius, known as Constantine (son of Eudocia), as well as of her own son Heraclonas. Both the younger Heraclius and Heraclonas were emperors for a brief time in 641. Constans II succeeded his father Constantine in September 641.
46. i.e. Eugenius and his supporters in Rome.
47. On Selymbria (*Σαλαμβρίας* in the text), mod. Silivri in Turkey, see *ODB* 1867 f.
48. This bears the gloss: 'He means Theodore who took the place of the *comes* of the colony (or "of Colonia"), that is to say the emperor's brother.' Heraclius' brother Theodore, a military commander, died on 20 Aug. 636. It is unclear whether the scholiast refers to an unspecified colony (Latin *colonia*) or the Greek proper name 'Koloneia', the name of both a town on the river Lykos in interior Pontus, and subsequently (by 863) a military district commanded by a *strategos*: see *ODB* 1135.
49. A small military detachment, sometimes of ethnic composition (*ODB* 250).
50. The keepers of the colours or bearers of ensigns were members of the staff of the *excubitores*, or select imperial body-guard (*ODB* 647).
51. On the term *domestikos*, which designated a range of ecclesiastical, civil, and military officials, see *ODB* 646.
52. The scholion reads: 'This person is a *symponos* or *scholastikos*. Holy Martin the pope anathematized him from Cherson in the letter to the holy Maximus.' This scholion confirms that the role of the *consiliarius* in the imperial administration may be identified with that of a *symponos*, a lawyer or barrister attached to the urban prefect; cf. J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 272 n. 62: 'The later *symponos* attached to the urban prefect appears to

be descended from the late Roman *assessor* . . . But this is no guarantee that assessors were still attached to provincial governors. The *consiliarius* (*assessor*) who was purportedly involved in negotiations between Maximus Confessor and imperial officials in 656 may have been such an official; but the context offers no certainty for such an identification.'

53. Sc. Troilus.
54. Sc. Maximus.
55. The scholiast's gloss reads: 'This is the one who by race and inclination (was) Egyptian, and (was) truly an enemy of the truth.' Brandes, 181 and n. 256, signals the identification of the monk Menas with the Menas in the *Record* (§5 and §10), and suggests in n. 257 that perhaps he was from the circle of Cyrus of Alexandria.
56. The following doxology appears in two manuscripts (*O* and *R*) and in a slightly longer form in the Latin translation: 'Again the holy man said, lifting his hands to the sky: "Glory to you, only-begotten Son of God and Word of the Father, who always strengthens in word and deed, and makes wise in the Holy Spirit, those who are persecuted and suffer on your account with you. Glory to you, holy Trinity, uncreated, sempiternal, without beginning, without end, unchangeable, immortal, incorruptible, consubstantial and supersubstantial, and indivisible giver of life, giver of light, perfecter, our God, glory to you, glory to you, the hope and salvation of all those who worship you in orthodox faith."'
57. The text from this point until the end of the document appears in small print, as this passage and *The Third Sentence against them* seem to be later additions to the text, and do not appear in the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In Brandes,156, and *PMBZ* 176, it is pointed out that this third sentence shows remarkably little knowledge of the earlier trials against Martin, and must stem from shortly after 662. See Brandes, 207 n. 426, for bibliographical sources on the *Third Sentence.* The Latin version in Mansi 11. 73D1–76A16 (= *PG* 90. 170D2–171B10 and *PL* 129. 656D10–659D4) is merely the editor's translation.
58. This word is glossed as 'gleaming or black or dark'.
59. The first sentence was passed after the trial of 655, as recorded in the *Record* §13; the second was passed at Rhegium (see *Dispute* §13); and the third at the trial in Constantinople in 662.
60. The *praetorium* of the eparch of the city was in the Mese – the central avenue of the capital – between Constantine's forum and the Milion (Brandes, 208 n. 435). On the Mese, which commenced from the Milion, the initial milestone of the empire, located in front of Hagia Sophia, see *ODB* 1346f.
61. Literally 'beaten their backs with rods'. On the Byzantine system of corporal punishment and exile, see S. Troianos, 'Die Strafen im byzantinischen Recht', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 42 (1992), 55–74, esp. 66–70.
62. H. Leclercq lists the fourteen sections of the city which were established in the fourth century and remained at least until the time of the Arab invasions.

The thirteenth section, the quarter of Galata (then Sycae), was on the opposite side of the Golden Horn, and the fourteenth was the quarter of Blachernai, a separate town with its own fortifications (*DACL* 2/1 (1925), cols. 1388–93, with a map on 1393). It is not surprising, therefore, that Maximus was only paraded through the twelve most central parts of the city.

LETTER OF MAXIMUS

1. i.e. 18 April 658. Anastasius the Disciple was in exile in Perberis at this time, as was Maximus, in a different camp.
2. This is Patriarch Peter of Constantinople (654–66).
3. The Greek word δηλόω means 'to make known, to show'. It is clear from the rest of the letter, however, that what the patriarch made known was conveyed not by himself in writing, but orally by other persons invested with secular authority. Hence we have translated 'sent me a message'.
4. For the recent developments under the pontificate of Vitalian see the general introduction. While Vitalian showed himself compliant with imperial demands, the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem had ceased to exist in any real sense by this time. The force of the emperor's claim that all five churches have been united is thus more rhetorical than anything else.
5. Cf. *Record* §7 and n. 40.
6. i.e. the emperor.
7. The word used here is πραικέπτου, a transliteration of the Latin technical term.
8. There is a textual problem here. Perhaps θείῳ is not meant as the adjective meaning 'divine' but as an abbreviation for a proper name, e.g. Theodore (Θεοδώρῳ), as the word order of the Greek suggests.
9. The following coda has been added by Anastasius or a compiler, and does not appear in the Greek; cf. Introduction, *Letter of Maximus*.
10. Or 'who'.

LETTER TO THE MONKS OF CAGLIARI

1. The Latin *de cetero* is probably, as elsewhere, a faulty translation of the Greek λοιπὸν.
2. Cf. *Definition of the Faith* of the Council of Chalcedon, *ACO* ser. 2, 1. 225. 14–16.
3. The scholiast explains: 'Here "cause" stands for that which antecedes matter or for the origin of matter.'
4. Something has fallen out of the Latin here.

5. Lit. 'this', standing for 'substance and power'.
6. This is a very confused passage: perhaps our text is corrupt, or Anastasius has not understood the original, or he was using a corrupted text.
7. Lit. 'is'; the objects 'will' and 'activity' are treated grammatically as a single entity.
8. e.g. Severus, *Letter 3 to John the Abbot*, in Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, 309–10, p. xxiv. Severus is often the nominal opponent in Maximus' arguments, as for example in *Opus.* 3.
9. Sc. Christ.
10. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Letter 4 to Gaius*, ed. A. M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum* 2, *PTS* 36 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1991), 161. 9–10.
11. Leo the Great, *Tome to Flavian*, *ACO* 2. 1. 1, p. 14 line 27, and cf. p. 14 line 29–p. 15 line 1.
12. Anastasius has not understood this passage well. It would seem to be a reference to the apocrisiaries sent forth from Constantinople with letters from the emperor or patriarch declaring the doctrine of one will to be the orthodox position.
13. The monothelites are also likened to Arians in the *Record* §4. This is a typical Maximian oversimplification of the opponents' position, in order to reduce it to absurdity. The Arians were often accused of polytheism, a belief in God and the Son as two separate entities (Louth, *Maximus*, 196 n. 16). This seemed to Maximus to be also the logical conclusion of the Severan party's denial of Pope Leo's statement of two energies in Christ, based on the distinction between the acts of Christ as God, and acts of Christ as a man. The Severans would not speak of two energies, nor of one, because they believed that the will was inextricably linked with energy, and because they wanted to avoid on the one hand an Apollinarian confusion of the natures, and on the other a Eutychian fusion of them. They said, in accordance with Severus, that one will and every divine and human energy proceed from one and the same God incarnate (Maximus, *Opus.* 3, *PG* 91. 49C–59A, trans. by Louth, *Maximus*, 195); and that there was no natural will in Christ the man (ibid. 49B, trans. by Louth, *Maximus*, 194).

LETTER OF ANASTASIUS APOCRISIARIUS TO THEODOSIUS OF GANGRA

1. This introductory paragraph only appears in the Latin text.
2. Gregory Nazianzen, *Adversus Arianos et in seipsum* (= *Oratio* 33), 4, ll. 1–8 (*CPG* 3010), ed. C. Moreschini, *SChr* 318 (Paris: CERF, 1985), 162–4. This is a question in the original Greek of Gregory's text, but not in the Latin version.
3. i.e. Jerusalem. Garrigues, 'Maxime', 447 n. 76, comments on the connection

between Theodosius of Gangra and Theodore Spoudaeus and the association of *Spoudaei* in Jerusalem.

4. The Latin *sermonis fastidium* does not correspond to the Greek, which is corrupt.
5. i.e. 8 June 662.
6. The fortress of Muri (Tsikhe-Muris) in Lechkhumi near Tsageri, Georgia (Kekelidze, 36), where there was a monastery of St Maximus in the 18th cent. (see Berthold, 31 n. 32).
7. Scotoris (= Codori) was a fortress on the bank of the river of the same name, on the border between Abasgia and Apsilia (Kekelidze, 25–8).
8. A fortress in Mesimiana, a region of Alania in the north Caucasus (Kekelidze, 25–8). Devreesse, 'La lettre', 11 n. 6, notes that Bouchloon was mentioned by Agathias, *Hist.* 3. 15.
9. Lit. 'fort'.
10. Or 'Suaniae'.
11. i.e. 22 or 24 July 662.
12. i.e. 18 July 662.
13. Greek ἄρχοντος.
14. Latin *Mucurisin*; Mukuris or Mucoris, mentioned in sixth-century sources, was a part of Lazica between the rivers Rioni and Ckhenistsqali (Kekelidze, 29 f.)
15. According to Kekelidze, 34, this is the fortress Takveri in the gorge of Lechkhumi.
16. From here on to the end of the paragraph the translation is supplied on the basis of the Latin and the previous calculation of the date in Greek.
17. See §4 n. 11.
18. i.e. Saturday 13 Aug. 662.
19. There is a tradition among the people of the village of Alexandrovskaia, near Sukhumi, that they live in the region of ancient Phusta (Qaukhchishvili, *Georgica* 4. 54).
20. There is a switch in subject here from 'God' to 'he', i.e. the chief.
21. Lit. 'prayer . . . and groan'.
22. Lit. 'mile-posts'. The author of the *Commemoration* relates that Gregory the Patrician's estate was at Zichachoris, and that Anastasius ended his days in the camp of Thousumes, situated above the villa Mochoes, in the border region of Apsilia.
23. i.e. in Jerusalem. Garrigues, 'Maxime', 447 n. 76, seems to understand this sentence as referring to the brothers Theodore and Theodosius, who are also described elsewhere as 'germane brothers'. However, syntactically this is impossible, although we must allow for the possibility of error in Anastasius' translation.
24. Probably Stephen of Dora, the Palestinian sent by Sophronius to Rome *c.*638. His father was the cimiliarch or treasurer of the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem.

25. i.e. 1 Jan. 665.
26. The Latin *pro quo etiam causa est* is not clear; the Greek text recommences at this point in the sentence.
27. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De divinis nominibus* 4. 30, ed. B. R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum* 1, *PTS* 33 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1990), 175. 11–12.
28. A high-ranking dignitary (see *ODB* 1267).
29. This is an anacoluthon in Greek.
30. Ps.-Hippolytus, *Testimonia*, in Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, 324, l. 15.
31. Lit. 'lift from'.
32. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 40 (*CPG* 3010), ed. C. Moreschini, *SChr* 358 (Paris: CERF, 1990), 304. 5–6.
33. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 538 n. 17, refers to this formula as used in the *Record*, cf. n. 24.
34. i.e. 11 Oct. 666.

COMMEMORATION

1. This anacolouthon seems to indicate that we are dealing with a liturgical rubric referring not only to Maximus and Martin, but also to other saints whose deaths were commemorated on the same day.
2. Sc. Anastasius Apocrisiarius.
3. This prologue is preserved in the Latin; the following prologue (§§2–3) from the Greek is of a later date.
4. This spelling is found in the text here and in the following paragraph, but obviously Constans II (641–68) is meant.
5. There is something wrong with the syntax here: the subject of the verb is missing.
6. This refers to the trial of Maximus, Anastasius the Disciple and Anastasius the Monk in Constantinople in 662, at which they were condemned to exile. The amputation of the right hand and tongue of Maximus and the Apocrisiarius is also described in the *Third Sentence* at the end of the *Dispute* §17.
7. Lit. 'to himself'.
8. The protosecretary was the head secretary of the praetorian prefect, or eparch of Constantinople. The eparch of the city was the supreme judge in Constantinople and its vicinity, and chief of police, with jurisdiction over prisons (*ODB* 705.) The praetorian prefect's importance declined in the seventh century and the last one known by name, Alexander, dates to 626 (*ODB* 1710).
9. i.e. by means of the prosthesis.
10. Lit. 'of this kind', i.e. the letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra.
11. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 538 n. 17, refers to this formula as used in the *Record*, cf. n. 24.
12. i.e. Sunday, 11 Oct. 666.

13. Modern Nesebûr in Bulgaria. Anastasius had been transferred from Trebizond to Mesembria by the time of the dispute between Maximus and Theodosius of Caesarea Bithynia in August 656.
14. i.e. from 647/8, the time of the publication of the *Typos*, until 666.
15. i.e. imperial guards and civil bureaux (cf. Lampe, 1361). Brandes, 209 n. 444, suggests that he was perhaps the *praefectus annonae*, in charge of the grain supply for the city.
16. Abydos, the ancient town of Mysia, on the Hellespont, the site of the town north-east of Çannakale, Turkey, and a toll station until late Byzantine times (*Webster's New Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1988), 4).
17. A Greek colony in the Chersonese near modern Sebastopol (*ODB* 418).
18. 26 Oct. 655.
19. Sc. Theodore and Euprepius.
20. This is the only attestation of this word in the lexica. Brandes, 158 n. 103, notes that it brings to mind the institution of a guard-regiment of the imperial Tagmata under Empress Irene, first mentioned in 791. See *ODB* 2167, s.v. 'Vigla'.
21. Brandes, 161, suggests with reason that the naming of the *sacellarius* in this document alone is evidence of a corrupted and interpolated text. Boukoleon was perhaps a nickname for 'Leon'.
22. Gregory the eunuch is also spoken of as *praefectus eunuchus ex cubiculariis* in the *Commemoratio* of Pope Martin (*PL* 129. 596D8–597A2). Brandes, 174 n. 203, believes that the title given here as 'the Eunuch and eparch of the city truly called pitiable' is certainly corrupt, as to have a eunuch in the office of eparch of the city is unthinkable. He suggests rather that Gregory was in charge of the imperial bedchamber (*praepositus sacri cubicularii*).
23. A suggestion that Julian the Apostate (361–3) also begrudged saints the martyrdom they longed for. The author of the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. and trans. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden: Brill, 1984), ch. 42, 117, claimed that 'Julian, hated of God, burned many Christians (in a furnace in the Hippodrome) on the pretext of their being criminals' (our parenthesis).
24. Martin spent 178 days in two prisons in Constantinople, according to the author of the *Gesta papae Martini* (*PL* 129. 598C): 93 days in the Prandiaria (*PL* 129. 593A), and 85 days in the Diomedes prison (*PL* 120. 596A). His tribulation only lasted for three years if we count the years 653 to 655 inclusively.
25. The Ecumenical Councils of 325, 381, 431, 451, and 553 respectively.
26. The proceedings of the Lateran Synod of 649.
27. i.e. 16 September 655; cf. the author of the Greek *Vita Martini* (*BHG* 2259), ed. P. Peeters, *AB* 51 (1933), 261 (ch. 12), who dates Martin's death to 13 April 656. Peeters, ibid. 249, states that it is impossible to choose between the two dates.
28. The Council of Chalcedon was held in the Church of St Euphemia, who was hence venerated as the protector of orthodoxy by the pro-Chalcedonians.

See A. M. Schneider, 'Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon', in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1 (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1951), 291–2.

29. The *Vita Martini*, 262–3, also mentions Martin's burial in the church of St Maria of Blachernai, named after the Blachernai church in Constantinople.
30. Cf. *Letter of Anas.* §5.
31. The Greek form of this term (κόμης) was used in later times to refer to subaltern officers of the army (*ODB* 485); later, in the 8th and 9th cents., the κόμης τῆς κόρτης was an official on the staff of a *strategos*, probably with judicial and police duties (*ODB* 1139).
32. We understand this to mean that the area was largely uncharted and admitted of access only with difficulty, particularly in winter.
33. The eleventh indiction of the previous cycle lasted from September 652 to August 653. It was indeed ten years later that Maximus and his disciple Anastasius died (662), but we have no other evidence that they were in exile from 652 to 653.
34. This is a plural verb, of which the subjects are Maximus and Anastasius his disciple.
35. Lit. 'of this kind'.
36. Lit. 'of this kind'.
37. This is the region north-east of Armenia and east of Iberia: see *ODB* 52, s.v. 'Albania'. Betararous is in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea: see Brandes, 157 n. 100, and *PMBZ* 177 n. 50.
38. For the sake of clarity we have introduced three paragraphs in the translation, each covering one of the author's points (marked in italics: '*First . . . Second . . . Third . . .*').
39. These two strings of names have been invented to describe those of the monothelite party, the first being followers of the patriarchs Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, the second group being those who forbade the mention of will or operation with respect to Christ.
40. The Epicureans were much maligned by Christians, as they did not believe in a providential God or in the immortality of humankind. They were the quintessential atheists, 'the completely godless', as our author puts it.
41. Peter II of Alexandria was nominated by Athanasius as his successor as bishop of Alexandria in 373, but his throne was usurped by an Arian candidate, at the command of the Emperor Valens. Peter found refuge with Pope Damasus in Rome, and returned to Alexandria *c.*379. He died before the Council of Constantinople opened in 381 (M. Simonetti, *EEC* 678.) There seems to be some confusion in the author's mind between this Peter, and Peter I, patriarch of Alexandria in the early fourth century, who was martyred in 311 (M. Simonetti, *EEC* 677). Peter II was not a patriarch or a martyr, as he is described in our text, but Peter I was not persecuted by Arians either.

42. As commonly in patristic literature, the spiritual contest is envisaged here, presided over, and judged, by God the Father or Christ.
43. This scholion is only found in the Latin text.

AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. Lit. 'a drop of heaven'.
2. i.e. Constans II (641–68).
3. The patrician who was present at the second phase of Maximus' dispute with Theodosius at Rhegium: the alternative name is a pun on the meaning of Epiphanius: 'shining forth'.
4. Another pun on words of similar sound.
5. Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea Bithynia, engaged in a dispute with Maximus in Bizya in 656, recorded in the *Dispute* above. Here there is another play on words to describe his failure in his episcopal duty.
6. This may be meant to indicate that Maximus followed on in the theological tradition of the apostle John and Gregory Nazianzen, who both bore this title, or it may simply be a reference to Maximus as one of a group of three staunch opponents of monothelitism, the other two being his disciples Anastasius the monk and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius.
7. The word can also mean 'excommunicated'.
8. These last two unusual expressions are found in Palladius, *Palladii Dialogus de Vita Iohannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 77, lines 29–30.
9. This is the *Ambigua*, a commentary on difficult passages of the Fathers, especially of Gregory Nazianzen and ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (*PG* 91. 1032–1417). Its popularity may be measured by the fact that it was translated into Latin by John Scotus Eriugena in 9th-cent. Francia.
10. i.e. the two *Centuries on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation of the Son of God* (*CPG* 7694), and the four *Centuries on Love* (*CPG* 7693).
11. Presumably the proceedings of the Lateran Council (on which see the following note) are meant.
12. The after-effects of the Lateran Synod of 649 were wide-reaching in their political and ecclesiastical implications. As a direct result of Pope Martin's condemnation of imperial policy, and his refusal to seek imperial approval for his election, he was arrested in Rome and brought to trial in Constantinople, from where he was sent into exile in the Chersonese. This brought the criticism of the western church down still more strongly upon the emperor and his patriarchs, who continued their refusal to reopen the debate.
13. This may be an allusion to Constans II as the successor of his grandfather Heraclius, who was first responsible, together with Patriarch Sergius, for the promulgation of the monothelite doctrine.

14. Perhaps a metaphorical sense is intended, and the tongue stands for the prayers and praise which the 'heretics' offered to God.
15. Cf. the final paragraph of the *Dispute* §17, where the *Third Sentence* is passed on Maximus and his two disciples: after the two Anastasii have been flogged, Maximus and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius are to have their right hands and tongues amputated.
16. See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 534 n. 24, on the use of this formula in the Byzantine liturgy before the seventh century; cf. *Record* n. 24.
17. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 40 (*CPG* 3010), ed. C. Moreschini, *SChr* 358 (Paris: CERF, 1990), 304. 5–6; see also *Ep. Anas.* 147 n. 32.

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INDEX OF PATRISTIC AND OTHER SOURCES

INDEX OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

INDEX OF PLACES

INDEX OF PEOPLE AND THINGS